MODERN RELIGION FROM PURITAN ORIGINS

HENRY HALLAM SAUNDERSON

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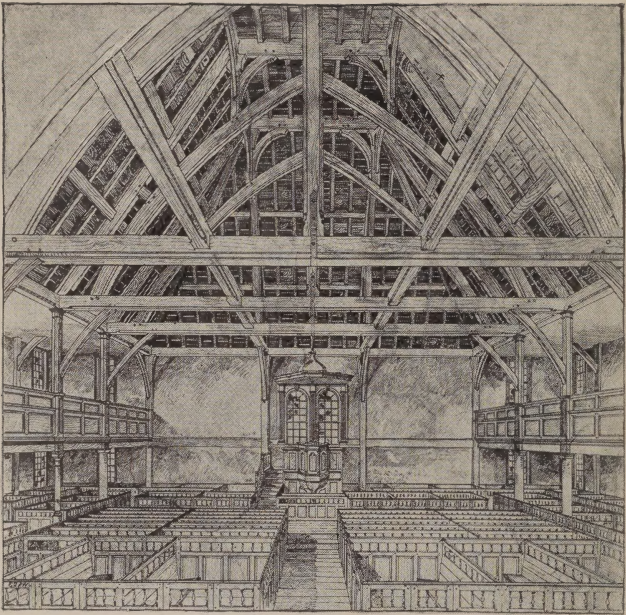

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THE MEETING HOUSE OF THE FIRST PARISH (UNITARIAN)
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BY

HENRY HALLAM SAUNDERSON

EDITOR OF *"The Wayside Pulpit"*

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THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED TO
E. G. S.

ONE OF THE EARLIEST RECOLLECTIONS OF MY LIFE
IS OF HIS STRONG SUSTAINING HANDS.
IN ALL MY MATURE YEARS I HAVE
BEEN GRATEFUL FOR HIS
WISE COUNSEL

PREFACE

It is interesting to explore the past in the search for the origins of modern ideas, and in the endeavor to trace these ideas from their origins to their modern forms. If this exploration be undertaken on behalf of some of our principles of modern religion, it will be found to be romantic. Such a search leads through many centuries of war and peace, of quiet living and adventurous migration, of the building of nations and their downfall, of dark plots and plans, and of radiant ideals and hopes. Down the highway of the years has moved a pageant of picturesque figures, not as actors in an artificial play, but as creators of the drama which was their real life.

Sometimes, in searching the past for the origin of a modern idea, men take a word and trace it to its earliest appearance in our language, and think they have come to the spring from which this stream of thought has flowed. But a living thing may change its coat in the course of its journey; and a living idea may change radically the language in which it is expressed. Thus if we take the name of a modern religious denomination, and search for the earliest use of that name, we are by no means sure that we have found the origin of that religious movement, or the source of that living faith. Not only do living ideas change their names, but the names change their own meaning. Such words as democracy, toleration, or liberal, as used in politics and religion, have very different meanings for succeeding generations of men.

There is a great revival of interest in the Puritans, because of the celebration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Men's thoughts go back from the present time to that period three centuries ago and they ask, Who were the founders of the Commonwealth? Receiving the answer that in the decade from 1630 to 1640 occurred one of the greatest migrations in all human history, and that in that migration twenty thousand Puritans came to New England, they ask another question, Whence came the Puritans? The answer leads our thoughts back to England, the mother country of New

England, and to the activities of the Puritans there. But still another question is asked, What is the origin of Puritanism?

The search through earlier history leads to the opinion that the word Puritan was first used in the time of Queen Elizabeth of England. But here is an example of the inadequacy of searching for the first use of a word and imagining that thus we will find the origin of an idea. Many a man put on a new coat, of a new style, in the days of Queen Elizabeth; and it is an idea from an older time that then appears wearing the term Puritan.

How often life clothes itself in changing forms! And how often an idea transforms its outer expression, so that it is difficult to recognize it! Some of the most vital principles of modern liberal religion are the flowering of the Puritan faith; and the Puritan faith, which first bore that name, had grown from roots planted in much earlier times and in distant lands.

If a man picks up an oak leaf, and wants to find what kind of germ produced the tree which bears such leaves, he will learn that the acorn differs greatly from the oak leaf. To understand the vital connection between these unlike things he must be able not merely to distinguish outward appearances, but to trace that subtle unseen thing, the *life* of the oak. That life produces many things that are visible but is itself invisible. Though invisible, that life is able to carry forward, in its development, the distinguishing patterns of bark and leaf and acorn. But whoever would understand the life of the oak must go further than these outward appearances and perceive the vital reality.

Thus there are ideas, of major importance to human progress, which are expressed in changing language, and in a variety of institutions. These ideas may be traced through many centuries. We may be startled by sharply contrasted changes in their outward appearance and expression; but a search for their living reality is a rewarding adventure.

Such an idea is that which gave vitality to Puritanism. As we study the progress of that idea, we are impressed by many contrasts. It is surprising to find that liberal religion has come of anything which, to outward appearance, was illiberal; or that we owe the essentials of our modern liberties to what seems to be a sharply restrictive manner of life; or that the enormous emphasis on the worth of man, so easily visible in progressive religion today, should be derived from a theology which emphasized the idea of God as an absolute sovereign; or that from an autocratic form of religion should grow a democratic form of political government. Yet these discoveries add to the romance of the search for the origin, and the lines of development, of the Puritan life.

When we have found the first use of the word Puritan, in England, about three and a half centuries ago, we are ready to trace a dynamic idea, bearing other names, and appearing in earlier centuries, and in other lands. We are ready to follow the footsteps of austere men in long migrations, and to recall the thoughts and deeds of pilgrims, scholars, martyrs, saints, and reformers. All that has to do with the progress of our forefathers, through nearly two thousand years, as they have moved toward a larger freedom and a higher faith for humanity, is related to the evolution of the idea potent in Puritanism. And this potent idea has produced the most vital principles of our modern progressive life.

MODERN RELIGION FROM PURITAN ORIGINS

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MODERN RELIGION
FROM
PURITAN ORIGINS

CHAPTER I

DREAMS AND IDEALS

OF ALL the great and wholesome movements in human history, probably Puritanism has been more misrepresented than any other. Enjoying the large liberties of today, men look back to the records of the life of the Puritans, and criticize them for the defects of that life, and the restrictions of that age. These critics should compare the life of the Puritans with the life from which the Puritans came. The discovery will then be made that the Puritan was making great progress, not leading a reactionary movement. If we compare the Puritan with other people of his own time, we shall see him as the prophet of the light and the liberties which we enjoy today. Look at his life and judge him, not by the point at which we see him standing, but by the direction in which he was going; and we shall see him moving not toward the darker past but the better future. He contended for high ideals beyond the possibilities of attainment in his own age; but we see and enjoy the attainment of these ideals of his creation. He died, not having received the fulfilment of the promise of these freer times. He paid the price of great possessions which his hands could not grasp, but which have come down to us as a priceless inheritance.

It is illuminating to study the laws of three centuries or more ago, not only in English-speaking countries but in other lands. A superficial examination of early New England legislation has led some readers to the opinion that the Puritan desired to restrict life sharply, and that he desired to inflict harsh and degrading punishments. We of today would not want to live under Puritan legislation and legal procedure. But if we compare the laws of Puritan New England with the laws of England of the same era, we shall find that the Puritan was not devising harsh laws, but was getting away from them; that he was not inventing degrading punishments but abolishing them. In an era darkened by great cruelties, the Puritan sought humane legislation. He copied some laws from England, but he selected only what seemed to him the wisest and most kindly. Some of the penalties inflicted by the Puritans in New England seem harsh; but they anticipated the modern idea that punishment should be curative. The Puritan endeavored to restore the law-breaker to good citizenship. His laws were remedial, not vindictive. Such archaic but picturesque punishments, as the stock, the pillory and the cage, were an appeal to public opinion in support of law observance. The Puritan saw, as do the wisest of our citizens today, that public opinion is the best guarantee of the enforcement of law. The wanton mutilations of prisoners, and other cruelties and barbarities, such as were common in England three centuries ago, had no place in the Puritan plan of punishments in New England.

The Puritan religious faith was applied to the development of good citizenship. A reading of the diaries of some of the New England Puritans, and a study of their religious publications, has given to some readers the impression that the Puritan was introspective to an unwholesome degree; and that his desire for the assurance of salvation in another world made him unmindful of his duties of good citizenship on earth. But only the superficial reader will come to these conclusions.

Was the Puritan excessively introspective? Did he look inward and not outward? His theology was, indeed, Calvinistic; and Calvinism offered its theology to every Christian country at that time. Calvinism assured men that some of them were elected to be God's chosen people for time and eternity. If a man is a candidate for election to public office, even for a brief period, we do not criticize him for being deeply concerned over the election. And, when the votes have been cast, we do not think it unbecoming for the candidate to be awake all night, in his anxiety to know whether he has been chosen or not. But suppose the election is not for a year, but for all eternity; that the prize is not a political office, but a place in God's eternal habitation; that the reward is not a salary in earthly coin, but "treasure in heaven where thieves do not break through nor steal." Is any man, holding the Calvinistic theology, to be criticized for desiring to know the results of the election which he believed had taken place?

The Puritan searched his heart and life for evidence that would answer the all-important question, Am I one of the elect?

Realize, however, that this was true not only of the Puritan, but of other men who held the Calvinistic theology; and that it was true not only three centuries ago, but is true down to the present time; and, to the honor of the Puritan, be it said that the reason he wanted to know if God had chosen him, was not merely to be sure what he would *receive from* God, but what he could *do for* God. He wanted to be not the passive recipient of God's grace, but the active participant in God's plans. From his religion, the Puritan expected not merely to *receive* something, but to have bestowed upon him the power to *become* something. He wanted to be the implement for the fulfilment of the divine Will. His concern for holy living was because of his desire to be a worthy implement in God's hand.

The very word Puritan has been much misunderstood. It is a common blunder to suppose that the Puritan called himself by that name in a self-righteous attitude, that he looked at his neighbor and said, I am holier than thou.

The term does not mean that he thought he had attained personal purity, but that he was concerned for purifying the social and religious life of his time. He saw that conservative men were perpetuating ideas and customs of the darker ages of the past; and he, being progressive, wanted to purify the life of his time of these evils. Far from being concerned only for the salvation of his own soul in another world, he was deeply concerned for the betterment of the life of his times, and the improvement of the world in which he lived. Critics of the Puritans say that his religion made him self-centered; and that his eyes were on his hopes of heaven instead of on his own community. This statement reverses exactly the truth; for Puritanism, three centuries ago, was applied, more than any other form of faith at the time, to making this world better and human life more wholesome. The concern which the Puritan felt over the answer to the question, Am I elected of God? included an interest in the plans of God for this present world. And the Puritan, in his desire to fulfill the will of God, anticipated the modern idea that religion should be applied to social service. He believed not only that God chose his people for salvation in heaven, but also for service on earth. His great concern, in gaining Christian character, was not that he might stand in saintly solitude, but that he might gain the power to fulfill the divine Will in the world. His conviction was that whoever would enjoy the eternal home, had earnest work to do in this present life. Calvin's religious theories, as developed by the Puritan, had great social significance.

The Puritans who migrated to New England are not to be understood as taking the negative attitude of exiles, surrendering their life, but the positive attitude of those who would create a new life. The hermit encounters life's problems; and his solution is to flee from them. He turns his back on the world, because life in the world is difficult. He seeks simplicity, in order to escape from distracting things. He lets the world go its own way, in order that he may save his own soul. The Puritans who migrated from England to New England in the years from 1630 to 1640 have been misrepresented as taking this attitude of the hermit. It is said that they sought the wilderness, in order to escape from the duties of citizenship in England; that they abandoned their native land, and left her to her own fate.

Puritanism in England three centuries ago did two important things: it furnished a very active reforming party for the mother country, and sent a very vigorous colonizing party into this new land. Great courage was needed by both parties. Puritan ideals needed to be tested on new soil, where they could prove what they could do; and the result was that they did a great creative work. Puritan ideals were tested also in England, where they were the principles of a religious and political upheaval. Through what looked like temporary success under Cromwell, and like permanent defeat in the restoration of the Stuart dynasty to the throne of England, Puritanism really changed the whole course of English history for modern times.

The two parties of Puritans, in England and New England, were in close communication from 1630 onward for a half century, during which time there was a great development of their ideals. Each party influenced greatly the other. Neither party could have accomplished all its work without the moral and spiritual support of the other. In New England, in comparative freedom, the principles of the Puritans grew into noble institutions; and the vision of these achievements gave courage to the reformers in the homeland. And the fighting qualities of Cromwell's Ironsides gave strength to the men, who, in New England, were laying the solid foundations of a new government, and developing a democratic form of religion.

The Puritanism of the time of Charles I, three centuries ago, or of the time of Queen Elizabeth in the preceding century, should not be thought of as a sudden upheaval. It was not a temporary revolt against autocracy in church and state. It was an assertion of the ancient principle of nonconformity in religion. It was a declaration of the capacity of plain men to enter into vital relationships with God. It exalted humanity, not in any arrogant self-assertiveness, but because it linked man's lowly life with the spiritual life of the universe. It gave a startling meaning to human endeavor because it taught men to believe that human hands could do the work of God on earth. In an era when the autocratic religion of Rome, dominating western Europe, placed a low value on human life, a democratic principle manifested itself in Puritanism, declaring that God's life in man is dynamic. This faith in man, which was characteristic of Puritanism, had vast religious and political consequences.

Back of this spirit of nonconformity, was not merely a local and temporary restlessness, but the driving force of a thousand years of religious development. Men did not begin merely three or four hundred years ago to resist spiritual tyranny; for the men of that time had a long tradition of religious independency. The word *heretic* comes from a Greek word meaning *able to choose*. Heresy means essentially the exercise of the power of making a choice, especially in religious belief. In the eyes of those who, through the ages, have thought that the highest good was to force men to accept passively the creeds prescribed for them, heresy has been the worst form of wickedness. But in the opinion of those who see that the highest religious faith demands the activity of the mind of the individual, some of the men condemned as heretics have been worthy of the most ardent admiration.

A long line of heretics, saints, and martyrs had led life's progress for a thousand years in Europe before the word Puritan made its first appearance in the English language. The men to whom the name Puritan was applied, had the example of this long line of spiritual heroes. The principles which the Puritan professed, in the time of Queen Elizabeth in England, had been growing for more than ten centuries and there was a driving power back of them. They had gained a tremendous momentum from a movement of the early Christian centuries; and every succeeding generation had contributed fresh energy to this movement.

One who looks superficially across the history of Christianity sees the outer and visible things, the pomp and circumstance of worldly power; for the Roman popes enthroned themselves in the seat of the Cæsars. They organized armies, erected great buildings, built and destroyed kingdoms, and set up kings and debased them. But this pomp of worldly power is not the expression of the real life of the Christian religion through the centuries. An autocratic Roman church, demanding conformity to its sacraments and its creeds, was confronted by an unbroken succession of men whom the church designated as heretics. These men refused to conform to the ways of the church, questioned her prescribed creeds, and resisted her claim that she possessed autocratic power, divinely bestowed upon her.

With less of outer display, and moving along humbler paths, this succession of heretics, saints, and martyrs transmitted a spiritual life, proving its dynamic quality by their splendid heroism. To understand the religious life of America today, we must understand the Puritanism of New England three centuries ago and the Puritanism of England of the preceding century, the era of Queen Elizabeth. And to understand the men and the movement first to bear the name of Puritan in England, we must go to earlier times, and to other countries and review this dynamic movement for religious independency. We must see, not only the gorgeous procession of popes and emperors, and the pomp of temporal power, but the more glorious pageant of the men who followed a clearer light and obeyed a higher voice. Such a review of Christian history will enable us to see the life within the religious faith of the Puritan, and to understand how that vigorous faith flowered into the beauty of the freest modern forms of religion.

In making this review we shall be less concerned for the permanence of formal written creeds than for the perpetuation of a living faith; and less interested in the names of sects than in the growing consciousness of the life of God in the souls of living men.

CHAPTER II

STREAMS OF INFLUENCE

THE Puritan faith has been a mighty influence in the whole course of the development of the era to which we apply the term, "modern times." This era begins with the termination of the Middle Ages. History offers few contrasts as striking as the spirit of mediævalism and the spirit of the modern era.

The line of demarcation between the Middle Ages and modern times is not drawn sharply; yet there are a few striking events which mark the transition. One of these was the discovery of printing which was about 1440, and which produced a revolution in the methods of promoting culture. Books, which are the implements of education, became much more abundant and much less costly. Every European nation felt the impulse to produce a distinctive national literature. Books were printed in each major language, and one result was that men who spoke the same language, and who read the same literature, gained a new sense of comradeship. This intensified a movement which had gone forward in the later centuries of the Middle Ages, the development of a sense of nationality. The boundaries of each country were more sharply defined, and men had an intensified sense of having, each one, his own country. In England this growing sense of nationality is especially notable. The sea gave to England most of its boundaries. These lines, between land and salt water, did not need to be redrawn. One English language was rising above the numerous dialects spoken in England. A national literature was being developed. A church for all England was taking form. Men were learning to think of England as an entity, and to regard the use of the English language as a real distinction.

In the time of Queen Elizabeth, the Puritan party was very strong in numbers and also in moral influence. When we speak of the Puritan party, however, let us not think of the Puritans as a religious or political sect. The Puritan was as strongly in favor of a national church for England as was the Queen herself or any of the bishops. In politics, the Puritan was not promoting the gains of a partisan group but the welfare of the nation. His thinking was not in terms of a parish or county, but of all England. He wanted to purify the church life and the political life of England. He wanted to purge his beloved native land of iniquities inherited from mediæval times. He was, for his age, a thorough modernist. He was the broad churchman of the national church and the progressive in politics. Because of this ardent endeavor to purify England and the Church of England, he gained the name of Puritan, which was applied in scorn but was worn in honor. The term Precisian was also applied to him, because of the definiteness of his program, the clarity of his ideas, and the vigor of his endeavors for reform.

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the Puritans were able, continuously, to elect a majority in the English House of Commons. In one convocation of the clergy of the national Church of England, their principles lacked only one vote of adoption.

The political and religious influence of Puritanism gained power when the movement received a name; for, though the name was invented and applied by one of the most vigorous opponents of the movement, it was sufficiently descriptive to be adopted voluntarily by the Puritans.

In searching for the origin of Puritanism, we must not stop, however, when we find the origin of the word. It is well to pause long enough to understand the vital power of the movement, and to identify its essential principles. Then we should pursue our search into earlier times. An important clue, however, is furnished by the name Puritan if we seek its derivation. The Greeks had a word related in meaning. If a Greek went into his vineyard and cast away all the dead branches from his vines, and gathered all the rubbish and burned it, he would say that his vineyard was "Katharon" or clean. His vines were purged of all that was not living. The Greek housewife who cleansed thoroughly a dish, inside and out, spoke of it as being "Katharon." Jesus rebuked hypocritical Pharisees for cleansing the outside of the cup, and leaving the inside unclean. He spoke of "whited sepulchres," outwardly fair, but foul within. When his words were written in Greek, this word "Katharos" (or "Katharon") was used in various forms.

On the European continent, in centuries long before the time of Queen Elizabeth, there was a very vigorous movement for a freer and fairer life than was countenanced by the autocracies of those times. From the word used by the Greek farmer in describing his well-pruned vineyard, and by the Greek housewife admiring her polished crockery, came the word Cathari, adopted by those who sought this progressive life. To translate Cathari into Puritan was a brief and easy step in later times.

From early in the Christian era, and into the Middle Ages, the Cathari were numerous and influential in southern France. There, with fertile soil, abundant streams of water, floods of sunshine and a genial climate, they lived for many generations, developing their ideas and promoting their own plan of life. They did this in spite of the jealousy and suspicion of the Church of Rome. At times, jealousy led to active opposition which was met with courage and fortitude.

The Cathari had religious rites which would seem strange to us; though something of these rites has been preserved in modern secret societies. They had a theology which seems quaint and archaic; and which included picturesque elements drawn from Persian and other oriental sources. But they lived in the presence of the Roman church which was asserting more and more its claim to absolute authority, and was exerting an increasing pressure toward uniformity in faith and practice. The Cathari had to take the attitude of nonconformity; and this developed, through many generations, a spirit of sturdy self-reliance, of loyalty to convictions, and of a loyal and unfailing support of their fellow-believers. The attitude of Rome was more and more toward conservatism and the static view of life; that of the Cathari, more and more toward progress in thought and the dynamic view of life.

Before going further in a discussion of the principles of the Cathari, we need to ask an important question — Whence did they come? The answer will lead us along the trails of adventurous migrations, and of picturesque developments of life. If we look at a map of western Europe, we see that the home of the Cathari looked southward upon the Mediterranean Sea, and westward toward the Atlantic Ocean. How did elements of the thought of Persia, and of other dreamy eastern countries, reach this western land? How did a Greek name and Greek ideas find their way thither?

Continuing our study of the map of western Europe, we see that barriers must have been surmounted as men and their ideas made their way from East to West. If you draw a line from Rome to the North Sea, you will have marked a chain of these barriers. Italy was hostile to the westward migration of oriental thought. The Alps were indeed difficult to traverse. To the north of the Alps was the home of the Germanic tribes.

But doors, though massive, are sometimes opened by those who have the keys to their locks. Examine with added care the map of western Europe, especially the area just to the north of the Alps. There you see the Rhine, which, rising in the Alps, flows through Lake Constance, and then flows northward into the North Sea. Only a narrow watershed separates its course from the headwaters of the great Danube River, which flows eastward into the Black Sea. From the Black Sea there is a waterway past the ancient city of Constantinople, and into the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea. But return to the upper course of the Rhine, and observe that, as you go westward, you can cross a narrow watershed, and find yourself in the valleys of streams which are tributaries to the Rhone River. That river, itself rising in the Alps near the source of the Rhine, receives the waters of these tributary streams and flows southward through ancient Gaul, or modern France, into the western part of the Mediterranean Sea. It flows through the territory that was the center of the homeland of the Cathari.

The people of many eastern countries had easy access to the shores of the Black Sea. Adventurous men traveled slowly and laboriously up the valley of the Danube; and, when they had reached its source, they were seventeen hundred miles from its mouth. There, just to the north of the Alps, they might follow the Rhine northward, or, going a little farther to the west, might trace the river system of the Rhone southward. Men established trade routes along these river valleys. Merchants and monks carried goods and ideas from one land to another. Oriental weavers, metal workers, and other artisans carried their skill and their cunning westward. Theology, philosophy, religion and other forms of thought were carried by meditative minds.

Not many centuries after the beginning of the Christian era, Rome had taken an attitude of hostility toward Greek thought and influence, and had sought to dominate western Europe. But, while Rome basked in the Italian sunshine, and looked complacently on her territories on the southern slopes of the Alps, and on the well-favored stretches of Italy, the vital influence of Greece was moving steadily up the Danube, cutting across the lands on the northerly slopes of the Alps, and then was flooding into the productive areas of France. Rome was startled to find Greek thought in France challenging her supremacy. In time these two forms of thought came into deadly conflict; and Rome, in spite of the Inquisition, the dungeon, the stake, and the fagots, lost the supremacy of Europe. In later centuries, American life developed, more under the influence of Grecian than Roman ideas. In turn, American ideals have changed the thought of the civilized world.

How different, in more recent centuries, the history of the world might have been if the valley of the Danube had not offered a great westward highway for the humane thought of the Greeks! From the headwaters of that river, Greek influence spread to the lands bordering on the North Sea, as well as to the southwestward. That influence crossed the Atlantic and then circled the globe. Few stories in all human history are so romantic.

CHAPTER III

DYNAMIC IDEAS

MEN ask, How long ago did liberal religion begin, and what was its origin? If we look for forms of words, we will soon lose the trail as we travel toward the early Christian centuries. If we expect to find familiar denominational names, set up as signs on guide-posts along our journey, we will soon find ourselves where various roads come together, and will miss these familiar names. If we cannot find our way through history without these sign boards, our journey will lead us to where we are utterly bewildered. But if we can trace subtle influences, and can distinguish vital ideas, we can make our long journey over a tragic but a romantic road.

Early Christians, in the homeland of Jesus, knew their Master as one who had made the great declaration: "I am the Way, the Truth and the Life." To them, truth was not an abstract thing to be discovered logically, but a dynamic thing to be derived from a great personality. Life was not a theory, to be held as an untried ideal, but a practical thing, to be tested in daily living. The first test of those who were followers of Christ was the question, Are you of the Way? The loyalty of those who gave an affirmative answer to that question was soon tested by persecution; and thus the question became poignant.

In Palestine, in the first years of the Christian movement, the religion of the followers of Jesus was a "Way of Life." Afterward came the contact of Christianity with Greek thought, and the development of creeds and theologies. The life of Jesus had to be written and his teachings recorded — and this was done in the Greek language. Pastoral letters were circulated among the Christian churches; and these were written in Greek. Thus the New Testament, in Greek, came into existence. Greek was the most widely used language of that time in the lands bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. The new faith, when expressed in Greek, had a better prospect of being understood than if it had gone out in any other language.

Greeks of the philosophical type of mind found, in Christianity, fascinating topics for speculation; and, central among these topics, was that of the nature of the personality of Jesus. To think of God and make him more humane; to think of the prophet of Nazareth and make him divine; to understand what the author of the Gospel of John meant by the Logos, the Divine Word, which was God but became flesh; to discern the workings of God's Holy Spirit; to speculate on the possible relationships of these concepts; how subtle and alluring it was to make Christian philosophy! Among the men who were engaged in these speculations, sharp differences arose. They could not agree on the essential meaning of some words in the Greek New Testament, nor on the interpretation of some statements made by Jesus himself, and by others, concerning his personality. These debates threatened to weaken the fellowship of the Christian churches.

Though Greek was the dominant language of that part of the world, Rome was the ruling political power. Out of Christianity, the Romans wanted to make, not a philosophy, but a system of law. Thus what had been, among the first Christians in Palestine, a "Way of Life," might become a form of philosophy for the Greeks, or a system of repressive regulation among the Romans. The Roman emperor, Constantine, who had declared himself an adherent of Christianity, was alarmed by these theological disputes over the personality of Jesus. Instead of encouraging men to debate them, until logic had come to definite conclusions, Constantine wanted to check discussion. To the Roman mind, the way to meet such a situation was by a decree or a law, to which men must give obedience.

The situation was dramatized by the conflict of two personalities, Arius and Athanasius. Both are connected with the memory of the city of Alexandria, a famous seaport in Egypt. That city, founded in 332 B. C. by Alexander the Great, was for centuries a center of Greek thought and influence. Nowhere else did Greek literature flourish more conspicuously. The various sects of Greek philosophy established centers there. Schools were carried on, and a great library was founded. This library was said to contain seven hundred thousand manuscripts. Alexandria continued to be important in the world of Greek thought, through the early Christian centuries.

Though nothing certain is known of the date and place of the birth of Arius, it is probable that he was born in 256 A. D. in Libya or Alexandria. He came into prominence when he was ordained a presbyter of the Christian church in Alexandria in 311 A. D. During the years that followed, there was great interest in his preaching concerning the personality of Jesus and the nature of God the Father; and consequently his preaching had a wide influence.

Athanasius was about forty years younger than Arius, and revealed a brilliant philosophical mind even in his youth. He was made a deacon in the Christian church of Alexandria in 319 A. D. He and Arius developed sharp differences in their views of the nature of the Divine Being. The resulting controversy was long and complicated and had far-reaching consequences; but the essence of the problem can be stated briefly and simply.

Arius was desirous of keeping dominant the idea of God's *unity*, and of preserving the essential *humanity* of Jesus. He believed in the Trinity; but as yet the doctrine of the Trinity was not sharply defined. To Arius, Christ was the Son of God, and could not be identified fully with God the Father nor share equally his eternity. Athanasius, with the vigor of youth, became the champion of views held by some Greek theologians, that Christ shared equally all the absolute and infinite qualities of God the Father. This problem led to the most animated debate in all the Greek-speaking world; and the debate sharpened into bitter controversy.

The Roman emperor, Constantine, who came to power in the year 323, adopted Christianity as his faith. He had seen a sign in the sky; and this was followed by the decisive battle in which he was finally victorious. This sign was a cross, with the inscription *In hoc signo vinces*. He came to the conviction that Christianity would be the power which would be able to hold together his empire, which was threatened with dissolution.

Studying Christian faith, after his sudden and startling conversion, he saw that it was torn by controversy. How could a divided church preserve a united empire? Not from an interest in abstract theology, but as a matter of political expediency, he endeavored to heal the theological differences in the Christian church. To the Roman mind, the best procedure seemed to be to obtain a mandate. Therefore Constantine ordered that a general council of the Christian church be held at Nicæa in the year 325. Instead of allowing the debate over the views represented by Arius and Athanasius to be diffused, he sought to concentrate it; and, instead of permitting it to run its course, he sought to limit it and then to terminate it.

The council assembled at Nicæa, and devoted itself to debating the inner nature of the Divine Being, the relationships of God the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Passing beyond any word in the Bible, men sought to project the lines of their logic into the Eternal Mystery and to make it yield a solution of that mystery. The debate in the council was long and vigorous, and did not promise to reach any termination in an agreement. Constantine determined upon the Roman method, which was to force an arbitrary decision. Debate was terminated by a vote that was intended to be mandatory. A formula was adopted to which all members of the council were expected to subscribe. The party, of which the young man Athanasius was a spokesman, was, for the hour, victorious. The prescribed formula was adopted, and the Arians were defeated. But, though defeated, the Arians were not convinced logically; nor were they brought to submission by the desire of the emperor, nor the vote of the council. They went from Nicæa to proclaim, even more vigorously, their majestic idea of God's essential unity; and to preach the doctrine of the real humanity of Christ within his divinity. The controversy raged with greater fury; and its influence continues even to this day. No modern man should say that the debate was trivial, for its consequences are still felt throughout all Christendom.

Constantine himself, in the council of Nicæa, proposed the insertion, into the creed, of a Greek phrase declaring Jesus to be of the same substance with God the Father. This phrase does not occur in the New Testament; and yet it is essential in the Nicæan Creed. The Arians then taunted the makers of the new creed with going outside of the New Testament for a definition of the personality of Jesus; and declared that such a definition lacked biblical authority. The supporters of the creed declared that even if it lacked the authority of the Bible, it was backed by the authority of the church.

Here emerges a new principle which was destined to cause centuries of strife and to cost the lives of thousands of men. Should men have the right to read the Bible for themselves, and to interpret it in the light of their own understanding? Should they have liberty for debate, however prolonged; and should they endeavor to keep fellowship with those with whom they disagreed in debate? The spirit of the Greeks would answer these questions in the affirmative. But the church which made Rome its capital, was asserting the principle of autocracy. The spirit of Rome declared that the Council of Nicæa had spoken with finality, and that the debate was closed. This spirit said that the church had spoken; and that men's minds must accept the decision, as an edict not to be debated, but to be obeyed.

At this point we are not primarily concerned with the *opinions* held by Arius; but it was an ominous day for the human spirit when his principles of free inquiry, and the right of interpretation of Scripture, were denied by the autocratic spirit in the organized Roman church. Men continued to hold the *opinions* of Arius; but this is not as important as that they became *nonconformists* in the face of an autocratic church demanding conformity. That principle of nonconformity has been of vast importance down to our own times, and it will continue to be important.

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH AND WORLDLY POWER

ATHANASIUS became bishop of Alexandria; and he has been called "The Father of Christian Orthodoxy." This means not only that his name is associated with a creed, but with a movement to enforce creeds by arbitrary power. Arius died suddenly, ten years after the Council of Nicæa, while he was walking along a street in Alexandria. But his principle of nonconformity, and his sturdy self-reliance, lived on. Greek became a dead language, but its influence moved on through the years.

Men of Arian faith, following the trade routes, went northward from Greece, and followed the valley of the Danube River westward, till they were on the northern slope of the Alps. Then they followed different routes, one the Rhine and another the Rhone. The Germanic tribes became Arian; and that faith spread widely also in southern France. Consequences highly dramatic came of these migrations. The persistence of the form of *words* in which Arius expressed his creed, is not as important as the continued vitality of his *spirit* of nonconformity. The church which centered in Rome had the Mediterranean Sea to the south; and, on the east, north and west, a variety of races holding views hostile to her growing claims of absolute power and her dream of universal dominion.

Of great importance for the future of the more liberal religious faith in England and America was the development of dissenting faiths in southern France. As has been pointed out, the Cathari were essentially Puritans before Puritanism was a recognized movement in English-speaking countries. So strong was this movement, in southern France, that by the year 1200 it threatened to invade Italy and to overthrow the power of the Roman church.

The heretical movement which, from three sides, pressed upon Rome, bears different names which may be confusing to the student of the history of those times. But there was much unity of spirit among the people bearing this variety of names. Sects took names from towns, and also from honored individuals who gave leadership to the movement. Then, too, there were successive waves of migration from eastern Europe, following the great route of the river valleys. Not only did merchants and other travelers traffic in heretical ideas, but companies of emigrants moved from east to west, adding the weight of numbers to the power of originality of thought.

This heretical movement entered on a new era when it gained a new name from Albi, a cathedral city of southwestern France. Under the name of Albigenses these people became numerous and widely influential. Soon after the year 1000 a number of them were burned as heretics, and the incident is illuminating because of the record which shows with clarity their points of difference from the orthodox doctrines of the Roman church. The orthodox faith said that in infant baptism the water washes away the taint of original sin; that prayers should be said to the saints; that Jesus was born of a virgin and had no earthly father; that the second person of the Trinity was present in the bread and wine of the Eucharist. All these doctrines were denied by these heretics at their trial; and the history of the times shows a widespread denial of these doctrines in the countries touched by Arian thought. But the assertion or denial of particular doctrines is not the most important thing: we are much more concerned with the autocratic method by which the Roman church sought to enforce her doctrines, and also with the spirit of independency in these heretics, who resisted such autocracy. Whatever the creed of Rome at that time, her autocratic methods would have been used in enforcing it. And whatever the heretical opinions of the people of Arian countries, these opinions would be held in an attitude of nonconformity to Rome.

The Roman church had linked itself with temporal power, and claimed supremacy over even the rulers of the nations. Since the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, the Christian bishops in Rome had assumed the seat vacated by the emperors; and, under the title of Pope, claimed to exercise the highest authority on earth.

Pope Innocent III came into power in 1198 and ruled for eighteen eventful years. He applied his really great ability to the task of building up a spiritual despotism. Had it not been for his unusual governmental genius, coming in a crisis, it is probable that the Arian heretics would have overthrown the papacy, for they had crowded down into Italy and were strongly entrenched in Spain; and they had long been dominant in the countries of northwestern Europe.

These Arians, many of them being skilled artisans, were numerous in the walled cities and other industrial centers. And, having originality in their scholarship, they were formidable debaters and were numerous in the famous schools of the time.

Then, too, the sympathies of the common people of southern France were with these heretics; not for subtle intellectual reasons, but because of their outer and visible life which was a model of simplicity. The Roman church was linked with political power; and was also gaining material wealth and displaying worldly pomp. The self-indulgence of her representatives did not, to the minds of simple people, seem to be in accord with the life of Jesus of Nazareth whom the Arians revered as a moral leader. On the other hand, the Arian leaders, who lived simply, thus exemplifying the useful virtues learned from the Gospels, impressed the common people by their sincerity. Early incidents of the burning of heretics by Roman authority horrified the common people, as yet unfamiliar with such cruelties. On the other hand the Cathari, by whatever name they were known at different periods, were notable for preaching and praying; but they did not persecute. Thus they exemplified mercy, and commended their faith to common, kindly people.

The seriousness of the alienation of the hearts of the people from the Roman church, made it necessary for her to adopt a new expedient: she must countenance the austere virtues, such as the people revered in their heretical leaders; and she must convince the populace of her own humility and sincerity. This led to the organization of strong monastic orders, notably the Dominicans and the Franciscans. The members of these orders took the vow of poverty, lived simple lives, and devoted themselves to piety and scholarship. Later years revealed that men who, as *individuals*, kept the vow of poverty could carry on *corpor-*

ations which held great wealth. But, in the beginning, the leaders of these monastic orders sincerely desired, by persuasion, to convince heretics of the truth of Catholic doctrine; and, by poverty, to prove to the world their genuine piety.

CHAPTER V

THREE GREAT LEADERS

INNOCENT III sent his messengers far and wide in the region around the city of Albi seeking to win the heretics to conformity with the Roman church. He admonished his messengers to go meanly clad, to be conspicuous for humble demeanor, and to avoid worldly pomp or any show of a dictatorial spirit. They were to win the heretics, if possible, by argument and example. Debates ensued which failed of their purpose. When the messengers of Innocent III argued that the Roman church was pious and pure, and that she was indeed the bride of Christ, the Arian debaters argued that she was really the scarlet woman of the book of Revelation.

In time the pope despaired of the argumentative method; and he determined upon a crusade which employed fire and sword against the heretics. Then came a time of terror, and of the destruction of thousands of lives. The thoroughness of the crusade is hinted in an illuminating incident. A certain French city was besieged and captured; and, as the soldiers were about to begin their work of slaughtering the heretics, their military leader appealed to the papal legate to guide them in this butchery, lest loyal Catholics be destroyed with the heretics. The papal legate replied, "Slay them all; and the Lord will recognize his own." Innocent III boasted that he had captured five hundred towns and castles in this dreadful crusade.

The pope, however, was dependent on kings and nobles for armies, having none of his own. Such a crusade set secular rulers against one another, and led to great political confusion. The pope might find satisfaction in the support he received from worldly rulers; but he had reason for alarm in the widespread resentment against his use of such means. He might count victories, but he created for himself an increasing number of political enemies.

Heresy developed not only in the form of nonconformity to the creeds of the church, but also in the form of resistance to the pope's claims of worldly power. Thus the spirit of independency developed a remarkable movement looking toward democracy in government. Men who could defy the pope could also resist their own tyrannical princes and kings.

This phase of the movement leads to the story of three remarkable leaders, Peter Waldo in southern France, John Wyclif in England, and John Huss in Bohemia. Geographically they were widely separated; but their work was essentially one work. Persecution gave new vitality to heretical doctrines. Individuals were destroyed in great numbers; but their principles were reincarnated in other people, who had great fortitude and matchless courage.

Arians, such as the Cathari, were *outside* of the Roman church; but, in spite of the efforts of Innocent III to eradicate heresy, the spirit of nonconformity developed *within* the church itself. Peter Waldo, John Wyclif, and John Huss were devout *churchmen* and they were moved to resist the autocracy of the Roman church, making their resistance from within her walls. In them the spirit of the Cathari, the early Puritans, was operative in new ways: not by external attack but by internal upheaval.

In 1170, Peter Waldo, a rich merchant of

Lyons in France, a devout Catholic, became convinced that he should renounce his wealth and undertake to live after the manner of the first disciples of Jesus Christ. He was joined eagerly by a numerous company of men who were impressed by his words and example. They were organized as "The Poor Men of Lyons" and, under the instruction of their leader, went out two by two to preach, as had the men whom Jesus first sent out to preach.

Peter Waldo studied eagerly the Gospels, and other parts of the Bible, and had the New Testament *translated* into the local dialect. Copies were made and used in the educational and religious work of his company of preachers. These men exhorted people to restore the simplicity of early Christianity; and to restore the earnest faith of the first disciples of Jesus Christ, who looked upon their Master as "The Way, the Truth, and the Life."

Waldo applied to the pope for recognition of his order, and for formal permission for himself and his men to preach. His petition was denied with scorn; and attempts were made to suppress the movement. Waldo and his followers defied the pope, and went on with their work. Further endeavors at suppression of the movement had the opposite effect for it scattered the seed of the message of these heretics. Checked temporarily in southern France, Waldo's influence appears in many lands. The most frightful persecutions, in later times, could not obliterate the movement; and it survives to this day. Men still boast that they are the spiritual followers of Peter Waldo, and that his influence has come down in an unbroken succession of faithful disciples.

Waldo's influence shows itself in England, where the seeds of his thought fell into favorable soil. He himself went to Bohemia where he died in 1217. In England, John Wyclif was born about the year 1324 and lived until 1384. His work bears strong marks of resemblance to that of Peter Waldo. Wyclif, who is called "the morning star of the Reformation," was certainly the herald of English Puritanism. The influence of the Cathari, transmitted by Peter Waldo, shows its power in Wyclif and in his successors, through many years.

Waldo's last years were spent in Bohemia, and his great influence survived in that land as it did in other lands. John Huss was born in

Bohemia in 1369, fifteen years before the death of John Wyclif. Huss was burned as a heretic at Constance, Baden, in 1415 by order of a great council of the Catholic church. The same council declared that Wyclif's teaching had been heretical, and ordered that his body be disinterred and burned. This was done in 1428, though he had been buried forty-four years. This action, intended to dishonor his memory, served to revive his influence powerfully. The tradition of his work has never ceased in his native land; and his influence has gone to every civilized country. Huss ardently declared himself a disciple of Wyclif; and a numerous company of heroic people, in Bohemia and other countries, still bear proudly the name of "Hussite." In tracing the work and influence of Waldo, Wyclif, and Huss, the student of history can hardly fail to be impressed by the immortality of their influence and by the vital power of the principle for which they labored so ardently and sacrificed so magnificently. In Puritanism, their influence was transmitted to succeeding generations; and thus it has come down, from them, to our own times, and our own country.

John Wyclif did an epoch-making work. The Roman church had developed the doctrine of transubstantiation, the logical consequences of which were far-reaching. The doctrine was that, in the service of the Mass, the bread and wine of the communion were changed into the actual body and blood of Christ. This statement may seem of slight consequence; but logically applied, it gave the Catholic church a monopoly of the means of salvation for mankind from eternal perdition. This change of substance was accepted by Catholics as a miracle; and the doctrine of the Roman church was that the miracle could be performed only by the priests of that church which claimed to be the only institution created of God for man's salvation. Therefore the logical conclusion was that for those outside of the Church of Rome there could be no salvation. In asserting this claim, the Church of Rome reached the pinnacle of its claim of absolute and universal power.

John Wyclif was the greatest scholar of his time in England. A priest of the Roman church, and the master of Balliol College in Oxford, he was greatly respected. His moral indignation was stirred by iniquities within the church, which he denounced. His vigorous thinking led him to deny utterly the doctrine of transubstantiation. The pope issued five papal bulls against him; but he was defended by powerful friends. He continued his work within the church to the end of his life.

He lived before the invention of printing; but he was determined to give the English people the Bible in their own language. With vast labor he translated the sacred book from the Latin of the Vulgate; and skilled writers made numerous copies of his translation. Like Peter Waldo, he organized a company of preachers, who accepted willingly a life of poverty, that they might preach and teach. They adopted a habit like that of a monastic order, and, though nicknamed Lollards, they taught thousands of English people to find access directly to God by the guidance of Holy Scripture. To them, the Bible was the symbol of their spiritual independence.

John Huss, too, was a great scholar. In 1398, when he was twenty-nine years of age, he began to lecture at the University of Prague. His chosen subject was the works of Wyclif, whom he proudly claimed as his master. He became dean of the philosophical faculty in 1401, and rector of the university the following year. In the latter year he became also the pastor of Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. Thus he guided the intellectual life of scholars through his work in the university; and he was also a very popular preacher. The common people thronged his church. Like Wyclif, he was roused to moral indignation by the iniquities within the Catholic church; and he denounced especially the sale of indulgences. He was excommunicated by the pope in 1413, and met heroically his martyrdom at the stake at Constance two years later, at the age of forty-six years.

The spirit of nonconformity, which animated Arianism, had traveled up the valley of the Danube River and down the Rhone, to utter itself through Peter Waldo. It had traveled down the Rhine, and across the North Sea, to speak burning words on the lips of John Wyclif. It had traveled into Bohemia to declare itself anew through John Huss. The sword, the stake, the fagot, and the dungeon could not obliterate that spirit. The heretics, saints, and martyrs, who represented the spirit of independency, have held a great variety of creeds; but they have been strangely alike in their attitude toward spiritual truth. They have differed in garb, in language, and the circumstances of life; but they have exemplified "the unity of the spirit." Strange it is that men can be impoverished but yet transmit a priceless heritage; can be imprisoned but can emancipate others; and can die in the fire, which reduces their bodies to a handful of ashes, and yet can live a life of immortal influence. Religious freedom is very costly, but it is worth the price which the martyrs have paid.

CHAPTER VI

THE SPIRIT OF MEDIÆVAL TIMES

IN the early dawn, before the full morning light of the Reformation, a royal romance had a strong influence toward religious freedom. Anne, the sister of "Good King Wenceslaus" of Bohemia married King Richard II of England in 1382; and this promoted an ardent and romantic friendship between the English people and the Bohemians. This led to the spread, in Bohemia, of the radical religious ideas of John Wyclif of England. Therefore John Huss of Bohemia, in becoming a disciple of Wyclif, became not only a leader of religious reform among his own people, but an international figure. The council at Constance, which kindled the fagots at the foot of the iron stake to which John Huss was chained, thought to destroy him and his influence. The bigots who burned him thought they could make men afraid and ashamed to be his followers; but instead, they kindled a flame which burned across many nations. Bohemia regarded the burning of Huss as an insult to the whole nation. Thousands of men left the Roman church in Bohemia, and organized themselves as followers of their great martyr. Those who remained within the Bohemian Catholic church reformed it, and resisted the papal authority. The custom of the Catholic church, in the service of communion, was to give the bread to the lay people and reserve the wine for the priest. In Bohemia, the reformers made the radical change of giving the wine as well as the bread to the people. Thus the chalice became the sacred symbol of the movement toward spiritual freedom; and it stirred men to staunch resistance to papal authority. In Bohemia, the flame of ardent discipleship of Huss became an undying fire; and it burns today as it did centuries ago.

The martyrdom of Huss influenced other nations profoundly. In England, it was felt as if it had been an insult directed toward the English people. This national resentment was intensified by the desecration of the grave of Wyclif, and the burning of his body. His ashes were cast into the nearby river, that all physical trace of him might be lost. But there is a profound truth in the graphic statement that the river carried his ashes to the sea, and the tides of the sea carried them to the shores of all the world, to influence men toward the assertion of their right of spiritual freedom.

Wyclif broke the monopoly of Rome by denying the miracle of transubstantiation by which the Roman priesthood claimed the exclusive power of giving to the people the means of salvation. He took the foundations from under the Roman claim of absolute authority by declaring that God had uttered his will supremely in the Bible; and that the church was subordinate to Scripture. Giving the Bible to the people in their own language, and encouraging them to interpret it for themselves, meant that Wyclif opened a door of freedom which could never be closed.

John Huss emphasized the idea that the Christian church was the company of all Christian believers, and that the living Christ was the head of his church. This idea was greatly developed and enriched by later generations. But in advancing that doctrine, derived from Scripture, John Huss displaced, for his followers, the idea that the priesthood of the Roman church constituted essentially the Church of Christ.

The work of Wyclif and Huss promoted strongly the movement which was later to receive the name of Puritanism. They linked the Cathari of earlier times and the Puritans of succeeding generations. There is an unbroken continuity, through more than a thousand years, in this resistance to spiritual autocracy, and the refutation of the doctrine of a church claiming absolute authority. So great were the convictions stirred by Peter Waldo, John Wyclif, and John Huss, that a revolution in human thinking became inevitable.

That period of European history called the mediæval times gave way soon after to the beginnings of modern times; and the contrast is of tremendous significance. Historians of a few decades ago spoke of mediæval times as "the dark ages" but a clearer light has recently been gained on that period that lies approximately between 400 A. D. and 1400 A. D. These dates may be used as convenient landmarks and will serve a useful purpose in defining the general course of European history. The spirit of mediæval times and the spirit of modern times stand in sharp contrast. To appreciate our own age we need to make a contrast between these two.

Mediæval times were far from being an age of stagnation. In that era, Europe was not wandering, in darkness, in a trackless wilderness. One way of estimating the worth of the spirit of mediæval times is to proceed, like an accountant, and put down debits and credits; and then to see how the totals balance. Much may be said on behalf of that era, and much must also be charged against it.

In mediæval times much humanitarian work was done. Great monastic orders had their origin then; and thousands of men accepted gladly a life of poverty, while they did many deeds of charity. To feed the poor, nurse the sick, console the dying, and bury the dead, added to the value and significance of monastic life. Educational work, too, was promoted; and there are institutions of learning, still in existence today which were founded a thousand years ago. Truly the mediæval times were not wholly "the dark ages."

Then the centuries that saw the activities of men in building great cathedrals, must be credited with a creative spirit. Men experimented patiently with the lines of the Gothic arch, seeking stability combined with perfect beauty. At last they learned the true lines for the stability of some of the sublimest creations of the art of architects and builders. In Gothic architecture, the quarries blossomed into poetic beauty. New meaning was given to the ancient utterance, "Strength and beauty are in his sanctuary." Painting and sculpture were greatly developed, especially in the service of religion. Gorgeous in color, impressive in form, there are works of mediæval art that still enrich our own era. There should be generous praise of the artisans and artists whose works still testify to the truth that mediæval times were not truly "the dark ages."

The age that organized and carried out the great crusades was not primarily a time of stagnation. Though wasteful of human life, and failing in their essential purpose, the crusades were an expression of idealism. They were great adventures of the spirit.

Much may be set down on the credit side of this account. Yet a list of *things* is not the whole of this side of the account; for we must make an estimate of the *worth* of these things, and this must be done in the light of their effect on human life. In modern times we have learned that human values are supreme; therefore, with this statement of worth, we survey again mediæval times. It is not enough to point to deeds of charity; for an era may be conspicuous for *relief* of the poor, while the *causes* of poverty go on increasing. The existence of schools does not prove an appreciation of the value of true education; for there are methods of teaching which blight the mind, instead of developing it to its full capacity. Mediæval education put an excessive emphasis on the memorizing of words, and on abstract fruitless argumentation. Discipline aimed too much at "breaking the will," demanding docility and checking the creative power of imagination. Teaching did not respect the normal working of the human mind, nor regard it as wholesome. Rather was the mind of the student a thing to be reshaped, and to be directed to artificial activities.

In judging the worth of great structures reared in the middle ages — such as the cathedrals — and in measuring the influence of the monastic orders and other organizations, we must ask, What did they cost in the destruction of human life and in the damage to human personality?

After setting down a list of *things* on the credit side of this account, and adding an estimate of *values*, we must proceed to make entries on the debit side. Mediæval times have much to answer for in the charges that must be made against the spirit of that era.

One large item on the debit side of the account is the Inquisition. The Church of Rome claimed to possess absolute truth; and she could not logically permit free inquiry after truth. Hence the Inquisition was not accidental to mediæval times, but was an expression of the spirit of the age. The Inquisition destroyed human beings in very great numbers. But it also chose to inflict unspeakable torture on its victims. These, however, are not the most serious charges against the Inquisition. The worst feature of it was that it *destroyed* the kind of human mind which the age *most needed.* It aimed to destroy originality and inventiveness. It checked the scientific spirit. It destroyed genius. It eradicated leadership.

Cowardly people could live; but heroic people must die. Men who were capable of thinking for themselves, and who had the strongest moral convictions, were hunted out, as enemies of truth, for destruction. Mediocre minds, the copyists, those without originality, those who could be terrified into conformity, or were content to go on in dull drab repetition — people with such minds could live. The best of life was being destroyed by the Inquisition.

As an illustration of what this destructive institution could do, let us look to a later century, when Spain was a leader in the movement to combat the Protestant Reformation. Spain had become the mistress of the seas, and was planting colonies and sharing in the exploration of the world. But in that anti-reformation movement, Spain promoted the Inquisition among her own people, and destroyed ten thousand of the best minds in the kingdom. In consequence, she destroyed her own power of leadership and ruined her hopes of world dominion. The sceptre of the seas passed from her hands and was given to a nation that placed a higher value on human life — the nation where John Wyclif had taught men to think independently.

Carry this illustration back into earlier times, and it helps to make clear the effect of the whole repressive policy of the mediæval church. The type of life of greatest value was singled out for repression and destruction.

Another count against the spirit of mediæval times was the waste of human life and thought in the movement known as scholasticism. Charlemagne, emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, desired to abolish the distinction supposed to exist between godliness and secular learning. Scholasticism was essentially an endeavor to show that the dogmas of Catholic orthodoxy were logical. It resulted in a vast system of thinking, of the most sterile kind, utterly detached from human values. Literally centuries were wasted in futile debate.

It was a discriminating historian who said that during the Middle Ages there was no such thing as philosophy, but only theology and logic. In modern times, science searches, with the most painstaking care, for the *facts* about the world, and arranges those facts logically. Philosophy builds on the work of science and endeavors to *interpret* the world. In the Middle Ages, men did a vast amount of reasoning, but without waiting to gather the facts about the world. The scientific spirit did not exist, nor did the scientific method. Logical processes did not result in scientific knowledge or philosophic interpretation.

Instead of producing science and philosophy, by their vast logical labors, men of the scholastic movement began with artificial things and moved to futile conclusions. The church had begun, in earlier times, the shaping of a theological system by arbitrary edicts; and then had built later doctrines on the earlier. Scholasticism, instead of making a scientific study of the *world*, turned its back on it and began with the *dogmas* of the church and devoted centuries to building a logical structure upon them. Hence the scholastics had theology and logic, but neither science nor philosophy.

In the Middle Ages, reason was subject to arbitrary authority, and had no free play, such as it had had in earlier times and has in modern. But let us not imagine that it was not in earnest — for it was, indeed, terribly in earnest. As an illustration, recall the mediæval tournament in which armed men, on horseback, engaged in deadly combat. Two men might have no quarrel, no animosity, and yet they put on their armor, mounted their armored horses, took their deadly weapons and fought. A man might leave the field the victor, or he might be carried off dead.

With the same deadly earnestness men engaged in debate. In the development of orthodox doctrine, a new problem would come up as logic moved on from one position to another. On this new problem no authoritative word had yet been spoken. Of two logical solutions of the problem one might, at a future time, be declared orthodox and the other heretical. Men who were confronted by this problem would debate it, like knights in a tournament, and each debater knew that he might be acclaimed victor and hailed as a defender of the faith; while the other would be vanquished, and pronounced a heretic; and this might cost him his life. Such life-and-death debates occurred again and again, reminding men of the debate at Nicæa resulting in Athanasius being declared "the father of Orthodoxy" and Arius being branded as a heretic.

To the modern mind, the system of scholasticism is unreal, like the vague thoughts of a man who, though open-eyed, is walking in a dream. His eyes do not perceive the real world, nor does his mind understand it. His thoughts are detached from the solidity of the world and from its significance. We ask why men, having disciplined minds and earnest purpose, could fail to be interested in their world, in its beauty, its meaning and its order. This question should be answered in order that we may understand, even more fully, the mediæval spirit, and scholasticism.

To be a good scientific observer requires training; and there was no systematic training in observation during those ages. Rather were men's minds deliberately diverted from close observation. The material world was terrifying. Men were afraid of the darkness of night and the night wind; and this fear shut most men away from the study of the stars. Men feared the wilderness, as the abode of evil spirits; and this fear stood in the way of a study of botany, biology, and geology. From no recognized visible source, the Black Death swept across Europe in irregular waves. No-one could predict its coming nor explain its origin; and not only did it take heavy toll in the dead, but it left terror in the minds of the living. The gentlest wind might bring mysterious disease; and the singing brook might be a carrier of fever. Lightning, conflagration, flood, and earthquake were regarded as expressions of conscious evil purposes, which filled men's minds with dread. What invitation was there to study scientifically the material world?

The mediæval church, while doing some things for the relief of human misery, taught that, in the future life, there were miseries surpassing any that earth could inflict; and that there were joys surpassing any that this earthly life could attain. To improve the conditions of human life seemed unimportant beside doing what would save men from perdition and assure them of heavenly bliss.

Diaries and records of journeys and meditations show that men could pass through the most magnificent scenery with unseeing eyes. St. Francis of Assisi is a notable exception to the spirit of his age; and his apostrophe to the sun, the earth, the light, and water is like an oasis in a desert of abstract thinking.

On the other hand, scholasticism reached its acme of futile achievement in the works of such men as Duns Scotus. He died in 1308, and was called "the subtle doctor." From his name, *Duns*, we have derived the word *dunce;* for, to a later age, the highest subtleties of scholasticism seemed utterly stupid. Though the word duncery has become obsolete, we are reminded that, at first, it meant that which pertains to a Scotist; and then it gained later the meaning of dullness and stupidity.

A thin rivulet of water, which flows through a tiny crevice in a dyke, and then rapidly increases, may cause the dyke to give way, allowing a flood of waters to rush in. Even so a new movement appeared in western Europe, shattering the barriers built by mediæval times; and a flood of new knowledge swept all the nations of Europe. This movement was the Renaissance, which brought in a new spirit of humanism, the spirit which created the modern era. To understand the Renaissance, we turn to a survey of the "revival of learning," which restored the Greek and Latin classics.

CHAPTER VII

THE DAWN OF THE REFORMATION

IN the early Christian centuries, the time came when Greek and Latin became dead languages; that is, they were no longer the daily speech of the living men of any nation. In round numbers, a thousand years passed before the great classical revival. In that revival it was of supreme significance that thousands of the scholars of western Europe gained a knowledge of Greek; and that to them were unlocked the intellectual treasures of Greek life. Latin was preserved as the formal stately language of the Roman church; but, in the classical revival, scholars went back to the works of ancient Latin writers, and found the inspiration and flexibility which the dogmatism and formalism of the church had concealed for many centuries.

Even while scholasticism was still doing its deadening work, a thin rivulet of Greek scholarship was flowing westward. Merchants brought precious old Greek manuscripts, with other goods, as they toiled along old inland trade routes, or sailed westward along the Mediterranean coast. In secret places, some scholars of western Europe studied and prized these treasures; but the time came when this rivulet, flowing through the dyke, increased in volume and power. Then the dyke broke, and a flood of new scholarship resulted. The classical revival swept over western Europe. A rising tide of humanism shattered scholasticism, and added to the power of the new learning. This introduces us to one of the most romantic movements in the whole history of human thinking and experience. For us it is of great significance, for in that new era was born the spirit of our modern life.

Historians of a half-century ago, and even of more recent times, attached great significance to the fall of Constantinople, which occurred in 1453. They regarded that event as a major *cause* of the Renaissance. But the real causes were operative before that time. That event *dramatized* the coming of the influence of the Greek classics, but does not mark the *beginning* of it. Constantinople was like a treasure house of classical Greek scholarship. In its libraries were priceless manuscripts, which had been preserved from ancient times. Many scholars, in that ancient city, had preserved the tradition of Greek scholarship and had kept alive a knowledge of the Greek language. When it became evident that the invading Turk, who was emerging from Asia into Europe, would capture Constantinople, the population of the doomed city fled westward. Like other people, the scholars could carry little in their flight; but they carried their priceless old Greek manuscripts. As these scholars scattered over western Europe they found, for their thought, not virgin soil but land already well prepared. Their language could be understood by at least a few who welcomed them, and who could serve as their interpreters to many others. This migration of Greek scholarship had an immediate effect and also, in later times, vast consequences. An educational movement, which was at work already in European lands, was greatly stimulated.

Significant events had already done much to make possible this educational movement.

Scholarship, in earlier times, had, as its chief implements, costly manuscripts, made on parchment. Duplicate copies were made by the slow monotonous labor of copyists who must draw each letter by hand, with pen and ink. When books were few and very costly, being thus produced, what possibility was there for the spread of learning among the common people? Even if scholars had desired to make education general, what less costly implements could they devise?

Several years before the fall of Constantinople, two things had happened which, combined, gave scholarship the added physical equipment which it needed for a popular educational work. The art of paper manufacture had been developed slowly. At first, paper was called "cloth parchment," and it was strong and durable. The term suggests the excellence of its substance and its future usefulness.

Very suddenly, about the year 1440, the principle of type-setting was devised and the printing press was invented. Thousands of books could be produced in the time required for making one hand-written copy. And the price of a book, printed on paper, was only a small fraction of the cost of one hand-written, on parchment. Thus scholarship suddenly became possessed of a very effective implement — the printed book; and a new era of popular education began.

Very quickly the interest in the classics, and the use of the printing press were brought together; and copies of the classics were thus multiplied by the thousands. The "revival of learning" produced a revolution in human thinking in all lands of western Europe. Scholasticism was shattered and became a dead thing. The dawn had come of the era in which we are still living.

It is paradoxical that, in the fifteenth century, life should have leaped *forward* by means of the sudden development of its interest in the *classics;* that a movement toward the remote *past* should have given the dynamic power for the immediate *future* and the prophecy of our highest development of life: that the study of *dead* languages should have led to the new *birth,* the great movement which bears the name of the Renaissance.

The solution of this paradox lies in the *human values* newly discovered in the classics, especially in Greek literature, as compared with the utter disregard of human values in the movement of scholasticism. The Greeks delighted in the beauty and sublimity of the world. They found zest in normal daily living. By physical training they developed the grace and beauty of the human body; and their artists created works of immortal beauty, in their representations of human figures. The Greek language is one of the most musical, and flexible, and graceful, that the human mind has ever created. Greek philosophy, though not based on a sufficiently thorough knowledge of material facts, was yet vital and humane. It pictured an interesting world. Greek literature glorified human life and emotion; and Greek drama stimulated human imagination to the utmost. Life was dynamic, creative, and stimulating; and thinking was direct, interpretative, and inspiring. Greek life was not overshadowed by any vast deadly system of thought, like mediæval orthodoxy. Instead of the demand for formality in thought, and conformity in conduct, Greek life encouraged flexibility in thought, the free play of the imagination, and the utmost freedom in self-expression.

Thus the Greek classics were humane, and promoted an interest in current life. Here was a great and noble humanism.

Much may be summed up in the statement that the Roman church, which had come to its greatest power in mediæval times, was *deficient in the sense of human values*. The classical revival, the Renaissance, emphasized what the mediæval spirit had suppressed.

To what shall we compare the human spirit at the time of the Renaissance? Imagine a man who has been living a narrow limited life; and who suddenly gains his freedom. He has lived so meagerly that he does not know how to live. But he discovers suddenly that he owns a great endowment which has been locked up in a treasure chest. He gains possession of the key of the chest, and, in spending this treasure, learns quickly what it is to be well nourished, well clothed, and adequately housed. He learns to value music, art, and literature. Then, in his newly gained freedom, he sets to work to *earn* for himself the money which will provide him a worthy living for all his future.

This illustration will serve us well. In the Renaissance, men gained a new freedom and shattered the confining walls of scholasticism. The classics were an endowment of humanism, locked up for a thousand years. The printing press was the key to this treasure chest. Thousands of men learned suddenly the *meaning of life*, from the study of a great literature that came into their hands. Then, having learned the reality of the world, the zest of unfettered thinking, the joy of a life of freedom, they set to work to *create a modern type of life.* While some men might linger too long over the literature of the past, the dynamic power of the revival of learning was revealed in a great movement for humanism. All things were tested by human values; the human mind gained a new sense of its own inner power, and human life gave promise of vast possibilities in its future development. To rediscover the classic past gave men a restored confidence in their own faculties. Men were striving for mental and spiritual freedom; and to their aid came the revival of learning; for it gave them the assurance that the human mind could do again what it had done in the far-off past — create works of the highest worth. It lifted men in their own esteem by refuting the mediæval doctrine of human depravity. It gave men a sense of the dignity of human nature, and a confidence in the trustworthiness of human faculties. Men came to believe not only that the truth about their own world was worth attaining, but that their own minds had the power to attain it. Humanism assured men that this world is the real home of humanity; and that man's greatest efforts should be put forth in making the present world better, and human life more fully adjusted to it.

Under the guidance of humanism, men learned to appreciate more fully the value of other men who differed from them in nationality, speech, creed, and custom. The movement, therefore, widened men's horizons and broadened their sympathies. It tended to abolish the artificial distinction between mediæval saint and heretic; and it showed the measureless value inherent in just the type of life which the Inquisition had sought to destroy. It encouraged self-reliance, exalted genius, encouraged originality, showed the value of spontaneous and creative impulses, and gave opportunity to men who had the capacity for leadership. Instead of the dungeon and the stake for men who could think independently, it opened to them places of influence and awarded them notable honors.

Here was a reversal of values such as the world has seldom seen. The Roman church was deficient in its sense of human values; and humanism exalted what the church had debased, and treasured what the church had cast aside. This contrast may be summed up in saying that the church created *institutions*, and then debased *men* by making them secondary to the institutions. Humanism exalted man to the highest valuation, and tested institutions by the service they could render to human personality.

A great sentence may be borrowed and adapted from the sayings of Jesus. In his day the sabbath, as maintained by the Pharisees, was an oppressive institution, and was fortified by exacting legislation. On behalf of the sabbath, the plea was made that it was supremely sacred, and that it could rightly make any demand upon men. Jesus placed the institution in secondary place, and human values in the primary place, by one striking sentence: "The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath."

This immortal utterance may be adapted for our use, in interpreting the fifteenth century, and the times that followed. We may say, "Institutions were made for men, not men for institutions." The mediæval school ignored psychological facts and endeavored to force the human mind into bondage to its own established formality. The church, in mediæval times, sought to make itself an absolute power, and demanded of men the most complete conformity. Social institutions formulated their own oppressive rules, and demanded abject obedience. Thus in keeping with the spirit of mediæval times, institutions were supreme and men were of minor importance, and of slight significance. Humanism came saying, "Institutions are secondary and man is of supreme worth; and any institution that does not serve humanity should be displaced."

Humanism declared that men should look at their own world, and should understand their immediate environment. But it also gave men a vaster world, set in a brilliant universe. A few dates, set closely together, show the relationships of new sources of inspiration. Printing, as we have seen, was invented about the year 1440, the date uncertain, the place undetermined, and the inventor unknown. But this date is sufficiently dependable for purposes of comparison with other events. The making of many books began very quickly. In1453, the intellectual movement received a new and powerful impetus from the fall of Constantinople. Between these dates, probably in 1446, Christopher Columbus was born near Genoa, Italy. Somewhere between 1460 and 1470, the date uncertain, Vasco da Gama was born in Portugal. Twenty years after the fall of Constantinople, Copernicus was born in Prussia. These three men had a great influence on human thought by their physical discoveries.

The commonly accepted idea of that time was that the earth was a flat disk, of limited area, surrounding the Mediterranean Sea. Indeed the name of that sea means "middle of the earth." But men were thinking revolutionary thoughts about their world and their universe. Overland journeys had given some vague knowledge of the vastness of the continent of Asia.

Columbus, becoming convinced that the earth was round and not flat, proposed to sail westward for Asia. To men who held the traditional ideas, it seemed sheer lunacy to propose to sail westward in order to arrive at the far east. But Columbus persisted in his project, and discovered land beyond the Atlantic Ocean in 1492. Though he made repeated voyages across the Atlantic, he died before men learned that a new continent had been discovered, and that the vastness of the Pacific Ocean lay between that continent and the Asian coast at which Columbus believed he had arrived.

In 1497, five years after the world had been startled by the first transatlantic voyage of Columbus, Vasco da Gama sailed from Lisbon, Portugal, skirted the western coast of Africa, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, the extreme southerly end of Africa, about November 22, 1497, and sailed along the easterly coast of Africa until he encountered traders who told him of India. Then he sailed boldly eastward over the Indian Ocean, and arrived at Calicut on the Malabar Coast of India in May, 1498. He returned to Lisbon in September 1499. For some years it was believed that the voyages of Columbus and Vasco da Gama had practically completed the circumnavigation of the globe. They had vastly enlarged men's conception of the earth; and later explorations made impressive additions even to these dimensions.

About 1500, Cabral, endeavoring to repeat da Gama's voyage to India, sailed too far westward in the South Atlantic and discovered Brazil. In 1519, Magellan, with five vessels, set out to complete what Columbus had attempted; and, in 1520, discovered the southern extremity of South America, and sailed through the straits which bear his name. Continuing westward across the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and rounding the Cape of Good Hope, one ship of Magellan's fleet reached Spain in 1522, though the brave commander and many of his adventurous men, had died in the course of the voyage. Thus the globe was circumnavigated.

Copernicus was a young man about twenty years of age when Columbus returned from his first voyage. While adventurous sailors were changing men's conception of the earth, Copernicus wrought a revolution in their thought of the universe. By fresh observations of the nightly heavens, and careful reasoning upon those observations, Copernicus discovered the essential truth about the relation of the earth to the moon, the planets, the sun, and the "fixed" stars.

So long as men thought of the earth as absolutely fixed in position, and accepted as correct the ordinary appearance of the heavenly bodies as moving from east to west above it, the universe was irrational and baffling. The planets, which really revolve around the sun, seemed to be moving in crazy curves, so long as man tried to make the earth the center of their motion. Copernicus upset the Ptolemaic astronomy by showing that the apparent daily motion of the heavens was a phenomenon caused by the simple turning of the earth, a globe, upon its own axis; that the earth and planets circled the sun, the true center of the solar system, and that the "fixed" stars were outside of the solar system. Thus Copernicus is "the father of modern astronomy." He followed the true scientific method of careful observation and then clear reasoning concerning the meaning of his discovered facts.

These discoveries are recounted here, not merely for their great significance, but to show that men had become intensely interested in the world in which they lived. How great the change from the spirit of scholasticism which kept men's minds occupied with futile speculations over unrealities! We are impressed by this contrast when we look forward to the next century and the career of Galileo. He was born in 1564 in Italy and died in 1642. In 1609, he made a telescope with which he discovered, during the following year, the satellites of Jupiter. He added greatly to men's knowledge of the stellar heavens; but in 1616, he was summoned to Rome where the pope condemned his work. In 1633, three years after the founding of Boston by the Puritans, Galileo was forced by the Inquisition, under threat of extreme torture, to abjure the Copernican theory. How heavy the reckoning against scholasticism! How it delayed the progress of wholesome human knowledge! But let us return to the story of the Renaissance.

CHAPTER VIII

THE REVIVAL OF LEARNING AND RELIGION

PURITANISM, not as yet bearing that name, had been at work for centuries, sustaining the human spirit in its struggle for emancipation. On the one hand was the pressure toward conformity, and, on the other, the brave assertion of man's inherent right to think for himself, and of his capacity for a first-hand knowledge of God. Against the claim of absolute authority, which the mediæval church made, men asserted that the Bible was the word of the living God and had an authority above that of the church. But what did they mean by the Bible?

Peter Waldo made this assertion of the authority of the Bible, among his people in southern France, John Wyclif among the people of England, and John Huss among the Bohemians. Each of these heroic leaders sought to bestow upon his people a fuller knowledge of

Scripture in their own language. But from what edition could translations be made into local languages?

For western Europe, the Bible existed in the Vulgate; so called because it was the version in common use in the Latin churches. It was the Latin edition, made by Jerome at the close of the fourth century. It is still the one edition which the Church of Rome admits to be authentic. From this edition, Wyclif made his famous translation into English.

There are important passages which, by design, are so phrased as to sustain the doctrines of the Church of Rome. One of these passages may be cited as an example, especially as it has had a great influence on modern religion. In our familiar versions of the New Testament, we read: "Repent ye and believe the gospel," (Mark 1:15); and again: "Repent ye, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand," (Matthew 3: 2). The word here translated repent means, in the Greek, to have a change of mind, to think again. In the Vulgate, the Latin phrase means "do penance." To repent of one's sins is a transaction between a human soul and his God. To do penance implies a transaction between a man and a priest. The Renaissance was notable for the rediscovery of the Greek New Testament. In reading it, men were startled by the vitality of these passages calling for *repentance* instead of doing *penance.* A famous scholar says, "The leaven of this new rendering worked so powerfully in Luther's mind that it became the starting point of the Reformation and thus leavened the whole loaf of Christendom." This is an amazing result from a few sentences of Scripture, but it proves that the rediscovery of the Greek New Testament gave added power to the vital movement of Puritanism.

The name of one great humanist is closely linked with the Greek New Testament: Erasmus who was born in Rotterdam, Holland, at an uncertain date, but probably 1465. Thus he may have been born the same year as the great explorer Vasco da Gama; and he was probably eight years old when Copernicus was born. Da Gama helped to give men a new world to think about; Copernicus, a new universe to contemplate; and Erasmus had a mighty influence in giving men a new and vital religion, for their changed intellectual life. The greatest achievement of Erasmus was to use the printing press, and to publish the Greek New Testament, with his own new Latin translation. This Greek edition was made from the earliest available Greek manuscripts. Latin was the language known to the largest number of scholars at that time; and thousands of them gained a new knowledge of Greek from this book published by Erasmus.

From this Greek edition, translations were made into various European languages; and it was dynamic in shaping the religious thought of a vast number of people. Thus a new highway was opened from Greek thought directly into various countries of western Europe, and Rome was on a by-path. The New Testament, in this interesting, flexible, vital form, offered men a new means of entering into relationship with God. The idea advanced by Peter Waldo, John Wyclif, and John Huss, that the Bible had an authority higher than that of the church, received a powerful reinforcement when people had the New Testament in fresh translations made directly from the original Greek. So long as the Bible was known only in the edition of the Roman church, it was difficult to detach it from the interpretation which Catholic orthodoxy put upon it. But when men received the New Testament directly from the Greek, without it going through the hands of the Roman church, their sense of independence of Rome was heightened. A famous scholar says, of the translations from Erasmus' Greek New Testament, "This Greek Testament was the fountain and source from which flowed the new translations into the vernaculars, which, like rivers, irrigated the dry lands of the mediæval church and made them blossom into a more enlightened and lovely form of religion."

Erasmus himself says in the first edition published in 1516, "I vehemently dissent from those who would not have private persons read the Holy Scriptures nor have them translated into the common tongues, as though either Christ taught such difficult doctrines that they can be understood by only a few theologians, or the safety of the Christian religion lay in ignorance of it. I should like all women to read the Gospel and the Epistles of Paul. Would that they were translated into all languages so that not only Scotch and Irish, but Turks and Saracens as well, might be able to read and know them."

We have seen that Puritanism had endeavored to free men from the dogmatism of the mediæval church even though the alternative was the authority of the Roman edition of the Bible, which had the doctrines of the church woven into its very fabric. But Puritanism gained new and measureless power in the new editions of the New Testament which came from the Greek, and which showed no mark of ever having been touched by the hands of the mediæval church. The book had an incalculable influence on the men who later became leaders of the Protestant Reformation.

As the whole movement of the Renaissance was dynamic with a new sense of human values, so, too, the new and vital faith, flowing through the Greek New Testament, was associated with the best elements of humanism. But this discovery of a highway into the vital religion of Jesus had another effect which is beyond our power to measure. This was that Jesus himself became more real and more dynamic. The Christ of the mediæval church was as unreal as any other idea in scholasticism. All things in the Bible were treated as allegories, instead of being taken in their direct and natural meaning. Christ was interpreted as a being who moved among men in as unreal a world as that of the stage, when a drama is enacted. His body was unreal; and he had no real experience of human hunger, fatigue, toil, joy, sorrow, or affection. He did not truly live as an infant, nor grow up as a boy or youth, nor work in the carpenter shop of Joseph, nor suffer temptation in the wilderness. His life was more immaterial than a mist dissolving before the rays of the morning sun. So taught the mediæval church. Famous paintings representing Christ, the work of mediæval painters, have as much of a suggestion of the ethereal as the painters could put into their work, and as little as possible of the tangible and material. He could be truly admired, of course, by monks and nuns aspiring toward sainthood, and driving their emaciated bodies through the discipline of monastic life. But such a Christ could not be admired by men who, under the influence of the Renaissance, were learning to find joy in vigorous, normal, virile life.

When men turned from the ethereal Christ of mediæval sainthood to the dynamic personality of the Jesus of the Gospels in Greek, what did they find? A being whom they easily believed divine, but who was genuinely human as well. They rejoiced to believe that God was as good as this newly discovered Jesus, in whose face was the glory of the Eternal. But they found also a human personality who fascinated them, a man whom they could approach and understand; a man who had the real experiences of other men, who toiled and journeyed, who hungered and thirsted, who "was tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin."

Of tremendous importance also was the discovery, made by these men of that new time, that Jesus had met the same problem as had the Puritans: the problem of nonconformity in an era of an authoritative religious organization. They could understand his denunciation of the Pharisees, and were thrilled by his resistance of a religion of rules and regulations. Men who still kept the tradition of Peter Waldo and John Huss found a great reality in the vivid narratives of the trial of Jesus, the sentence of death, and the crucifixion. Their courage was heightened by the thrilling stories of the resurrection and the spiritual triumph of their Master. Nonconformists found thus, in the real figure of Jesus, the dynamic ideal of the brave reformer, the nonconformist, the one who could defy autocracy even at the cost of life itself. To gain such a heroic and virile Savior, instead of the mediæval Christ, was a gain of measureless importance. This gain came to the men of that age by the work of Erasmus, in publishing the Greek New Testament; and by the work of other men who translated it into various languages and published their translations.

CHAPTER IX

PURITANISM GAINS NEW POWER

THE career of Erasmus illuminates the humanistic movement, when it was at full tide, at the close of the fifteenth and the opening of the sixteenth century. He was the greatest scholar of the time, having not only profound knowledge but a brilliant mind. In his own lifetime, he stepped directly from mediævalism into the greater freedom of the dawn of modern times. In his youth, poverty forced him to enter a monastery; and he was ordained to the priesthood. But his rare ability soon won him recognition and remuneration. He traveled widely in western Europe, and became the chief exponent of the humanistic point of view. He desired to reform the Roman church, but disapproved of those reformers who would dismember it. In spite of daring to utter, by pen and voice, views which were heretical, he rounded out his life without leaving the Catholic church.

The story of his travels is significant, as an indication of his wide influence in many nations. His visits to England had effects which have continued to the present time. In all, he spent five years in that land, his last visit being in 1517. In 1511, Bishop Fisher, who was chancellor of the University of Cambridge, England, being sympathetic with the humanistic movement, offered Erasmus a position as lecturer in Greek. It is well to recall that, in later years, Cambridge University was the fountain-head of English Puritanism, and that many of the best Puritan scholars were educated there.

Another personality comes into the story with that of Erasmus at Cambridge University. In or near the year that Columbus discovered America, a boy was born in England, near the Welsh border, probably in Gloucestershire. This was William Tyndale, who grew up to be a man of courage and of genius. In 1510, his college years began, and he studied at both Oxford and Cambridge Universities. Erasmus taught Greek for two years at Cambridge; and there is good evidence that William Tyndale was one of his students, and he certainly was stirred to enthusiasm for the great Dutch scholar. Tyndale received the degree of Master of Arts at Oxford in 1515, and then went again to Cambridge University, where the influence and inspiration of Erasmus still continued.

The next year, 1516, was the year of the publication of Erasmus' edition of the New Testament in Greek, a book which cost Tyndale his life. The young man, studying eagerly this book, formed the resolution that he would translate it into English; and, by means of the printing press, would put thousands of copies of his translation into the hands of his people. He had, in high degree, the mental equipment for this significant task, for he gained a thorough knowledge of Greek, and he had a rare gift of felicitous English.

Meantime Tyndale was ordained to the priesthood, but soon was in difficulties because of his liberal views. The liberalizing influence of Wyclif's English Bible was still strong in England; and the authorities of church and state did not look with favor on this project of a new translation, which would be even more potent in increasing the spirit of nonconformity. Tyndale, after years of study and writing, realized that he would not be permitted to carry out his cherished project in his native land, and went to the continent. Even there he was hunted from city to city, and could do his work only in secret. In 1526, ten years after the publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus, men were smuggling into England the printed copies of Tyndale's translation. King Henry VIII and Cardinal Wolsey had the English ports guarded; and incoming ships were searched for the forbidden volumes. The Archbishop of Canterbury even sent messengers to European cities to buy up all available copies and destroy them.

Tyndale, though reared in the Catholic church in England, and ordained to the priesthood, became a leader of the Reformation and was influential in many countries. His point of departure from the faith of his youth was his denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation. Then he declared the great doctrine which had been the distinguishing thought of Peter Waldo, John Wyclif, John Huss, and other men of Puritan spirit: the doctrine of the supreme authority of the Bible.

Tyndale had chosen exile from his native land in order to create and publish his book. But soon he was recognized as one of the greatest influences toward the Reformation in England. His enemies said truly that he was spreading sedition in his native land. They sought for him in city after city; and finally he was betrayed by a man who pretended to be his friend, and on whom Tyndale had bestowed much kindness. Tyndale was imprisoned near Brussels, Belgium, in the state prison. After many months of hardship and suffering, during which he contrived to go on with his scholarly work, he was tried for heresy and condemned to die. He was strangled and burned at the stake in 1536, the year of the death of the great leader of humanism, Erasmus.

His enemies thought that they had ended his work and had terminated his influence; but they had really multiplied his power. Other hands took up the work in which he had been busy; and soon England was flooded with his books. His martyrdom made him a great hero of the party that was, in a few years, to bear the name of Puritan. Soon it became evident that nothing could prevent the English people having the Bible in their own language; and consequently new editions were authorized.

Early in the next century, one of the world's greatest books was created: the King James Version of the English Bible. After more than three centuries, it is still the best known and most dearly loved book in our language. Tyndale, with his vital knowledge of Greek, and his rare power of effective and felicitous English, had produced so fine a translation of the New Testament that he influenced greatly all these translations in the century following his work. Phrases and sentences of his are embedded, like jewels, in the King James Version and make it more beautiful. So long as the Book endures, Tyndale's influence will continue.

Tyndale had put a mighty implement into the hands of the Puritan party of England. Just as Erasmus had cut away some of the vital doctrines of Rome, by going directly to the Greek New Testament, so Tyndale gave the Puritans a book to which they could indeed appeal as an authority.

Henry VIII, not from a high or heroic spiritual purpose, but from lower motives, severed the English church from Rome and made himself the head of the Church of England, thus terminating all authority of the pope. This was more like a major surgical operation than a reformation; an amputation and not a revival of religion.

The task to which the Puritan party devoted itself was changed. From the time of Wyclif, his followers had faced the *Roman* church as nonconformists. Now they faced the English king as reformers of the *English* church. They approved of the separation from Rome; but they wanted to purge the Church of England of its dark inheritance from the mediæval era. They were glad to be *outside* of the Church of Rome, but they were sure their place was *inside* of the Church of England. The Puritans are often misunderstood as if they had been a sect in England, seeking liberty to organize churches other than the established churches. But instead they believed as fully as did anybody in the land, that there should be one great national church in England, and that all English people should be in its fellowship. They were, however, determined to complete the Reformation, to promote humane ideals, to lift the level of English life, and to have a national church in which the Bible should be the supreme authority. Wyclif had promoted the idea of resisting Rome; but Tyndale's work gave confidence and power to those who richly deserved the name Puritan, and soon were wearing that name as a badge of honor.

CHAPTER X

AUTHORITY IN RELIGION

THROUGH long centuries, before the time of Erasmus, men had resisted the claim that the church possessed absolute authority; but they had difficulties in justifying their opinions. The great appeal was to the higher authority of the Bible, to which the church replied that she was the divinely appointed custodian of the Bible and was its authorized interpreter. When the nonconformists, of the earlier centuries, pointed to the Bible as their highest authority, they were necessarily pointing to a book in possession of the church; and, indeed, they were pointing in the direction of the church itself. When these men sought to give to the Bible a new interpretation, the church denied their capacity or their right to do so; and claimed for the church, as a corporate body, a capacity and a right of interpretation which she could not concede to any individual or to any unauthorized group of individuals.

When Erasmus had finished his work, two new principles had been made clear. One was that the reformers could point to a Bible without pointing toward the Roman church. The other was that the humanistic movement had given men new courage to assert their ability to interpret the Bible for themselves. Not only had a Bible, more interesting and more vital than the old Latin Version, been produced, but a Bible which could claim to be less marred by errors. Men saw glaring discrepancies between Roman interpretations and the Greek original of the New Testament. The humanistic movement, with its enormous emphasis on human values and the powers of human personality, had been encouraging men to study and analyze the classics; and this process of research and analysis they applied to the Bible in its original languages. Men became confident of their ability to interpret the Bible; and in this confidence they were encouraged by humanism. In consequence they dared to question openly *every* interpretation which the Roman church put on the Bible, every doctrine which she taught, and, indeed, to question her claim to any authority of any kind.

Erasmus, though remaining within the Catholic church, was a reformer, and started influences which have caused a great upheaval. This is especially true of his work of biblical analysis. One incident will illustrate this. This has to do with a passage which appears in the First Epistle of John, fifth chapter, verse seven.

This verse, in the Authorized Version reads: "For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one." In the American Revised Version, now very familiar, this verse does not occur. Erasmus, in his study of early Greek manuscripts of the New Testament, discovered that the verse was not to be found. It was evident that the verse had been interpolated; and Erasmus omitted it from his edition of the Greek New Testament published in 1516. Of course this raised a furious storm of protest, for this verse was one that seemed to support most strongly the orthodox view of the Trinity. To omit it gave aid and comfort to the Arians. It is now known that the verse is first quoted as late as 380 A. D. It was unknown before that time. Erasmus discovered that the verse is not to be found in the Vatican Codex (an early manuscript of the New Testament).

While the controversy over this one text is important, because of its bearing on the dogma of the Trinity, the incident is vastly more important for another reason. It started men on a process of research and interpretation, in connection with the Bible, which has shed great light on the sacred book. Though many scholars of the time of Erasmus, and the following century, were willing to be flexible about this one verse and to sustain the dogma of the Trinity, yet the *principle* enunciated by Erasmus had to be accepted by later scholars. Once one embarks on Erasmus' current of thought, he moves on logically to modern enlightened views of biblical interpretation.

Even from the point of view of bulk, the work of Erasmus, on the Greek New Testament, was enormous. Twenty years from its first publication it was in its seventeenth edition: a "best seller" for many years. By its character, this work of Erasmus created a new era. It is, indeed, the beginning of the modern understanding of the world's greatest book. Erasmus did influential work in his commentaries and notes on biblical passages. He was thoroughly modern and liberal in preferring the spirit to the letter of the Bible. He looked at religion in a rational and human way. In a comment on the words of Jesus, "My yoke is easy and my burden is light," he made a scathing denunciation of the spirit of the mediæval church which was a vast institution putting a fearful burden on humanity.

Of course his views were regarded as heretical, and he was condemned for disseminating them. Modern readers are necessarily puzzled that he escaped martyrdom. He certainly had powerful enemies who would have been glad to do to him what the Council of Constance had done to John Huss almost exactly a century before the first publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus. And, as we have seen, in the year of the peaceful death of Erasmus, his greatest disciple, William Tyndale, did win the martyr's crown through the flames.

Not only had men of the early part of the sixteenth century received a new Bible, and been taught a new method of interpreting it, but a new great religious principle was coming to be recognized. That principle was the authority of men, enlightened by the Holy Spirit, to judge religious truth. "The right of private judgment," as declared by leaders of the Reformation, was more than the principle that men should be allowed the privilege of original thinking. It was an assertion of the conviction that the living God speaks his word of truth directly to the minds of living men, and gives them the right to utter it. This created a new situation in the discussion of religious authority. No longer were men engaged only in contrasting the authority of the church with the authority of the Book; but they were comparing these two with the authority of the Holy Spirit speaking anew to living men. Having received a new Bible through the work of enlightened, pious, and scholarly minds, there were some men of that century who not only asserted that the Book was a higher authority than the church, but that the Holy Spirit was revealing an authority higher than either.

This new sense of a divine authority was destined to grow more dynamic in more recent times. But it was the highest reach of the humanism of the sixteenth century to declare that inspiration had not ceased with the prophets and apostles; but that it was renewed in men then living; and that new revelations were coming, to human minds, from the same sources as came the ancient revelations. Men were daring to believe that the living God had created the Bible and the church, but that He had continued His vitalizing work in the minds of men; and that neither the Book nor the organization could be a higher authority than the voice of God himself. Could these men justify their faith that the Holy Spirit was, indeed, speaking directly to them? They dared to believe that they could; and therefore they had the courage to judge the church and the Bible by their own reason, conscience, and spiritual insight.

Instead of the dogmatism of the mediæval church, the Reformation did produce a new dogmatism of the Bible; but it never wholly silenced the faith in the higher authority of the Holy Spirit, operating in the minds of holy men. Erasmus himself showed men that the Bible must not be taken too literally, nor interpreted too rigidly. It was a backward step when, in later times, some men adopted the principle that every word of the Bible must be taken literally; that the source of revelation had been sealed with the close of the Book; and that new inspirations were impossible. To this day, this rigid view causes some of the sharpest of religious controversies. But the light that shone from the liberalizing views of Erasmus has never been quenched. Indeed, instead of being dimmed, the light of that lamp has shone even more brightly, as men, of every succeeding generation, have poured the oil of their pure faith into that lamp. The supreme truth that has come from the early humanists, with Erasmus their greatest spokesman, is that the human spirit is great enough to be the means by which the eternal God reveals Himself anew to every generation; that God makes Himself known in spiritual experience, that He reveals His moral judgments in the consciences of men, and that He uses human lips as His best means of uttering His growing truth.

Centuries have been required for the development of this vital and dynamic faith, but it has become the highest inspiration of our modern times. It has been costly to justify it, and a long line of martyrs have paid the supreme price; but it is the most precious truth in the world of living men.

CHAPTER XI

THE THEOLOGY OF THE PURITANS

WHILE Tyndale was doing his great work, other men were busy translating the Greek New Testament and the Hebrew Old Testament into various languages of Europe; and printing presses were busy producing thousands of copies to put into the hands of eager people. Meantime Life was producing a personality of dominating power who was destined to do a great work of *interpretation* of the Bible. John Calvin was born in 1509 in France; and, even in early life, he showed something of the colossal intellectual power which made his lifework possible. Had early influences determined his career, he would probably have gone into the priesthood of the Catholic church. But his mind was stirred in youth by the humanism of Erasmus; and he was logical in seeing its tendencies. He studied Greek and Hebrew, and became fascinated by the problems of biblical interpretation.

He did become a chaplain of the Catholic church, but had a sudden conversion which he believed was caused by direct divine agency. At the age of twenty-five years, he celebrated communion according to the form of the Evangelical Church of France. The place was a grotto near Poitiers, and he used a rock as a communion table. Next year he had completed what was to be a book of vast influence, his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, a systematic statement of the Christian faith, according to the principles of the Reformation. This was a great turning point in his own life. Published in Latin, and read widely by scholars, and also translated into various languages, the book gave to thousands of people a method of biblical interpretation, and helped to set their chaotic thoughts in order. Thus the work went into England at the time of the work of Tyndale. Many people in England obtained simultaneously the Bible and Calvin's interpretation of it. Calvin himself translated his own work from Latin into French; and the people of France already had a new translation of the Bible. Even to the present day, there are millions of people who look to Calvin as their guide in understanding the Scriptures.

When twenty-eight years old, Calvin settled in Geneva, Switzerland; and, except for a brief interval, he spent the remainder of his life there. He died in 1564. Thus, for the best part of twenty-seven years, he used Geneva as the focal point of his great influence. He had theories of political and ecclesiastical government which he was able to test there. But for many years he was practically the uncrowned pope of the Protestant Reformation. Men of many lands came to Geneva and studied, with him, the tremendously important problems of law, life, and religion in the new era which had begun. Every European country was influenced by Calvin politically and religiously.

The system of belief called "Calvinism" must not be attributed entirely to Calvin. He laid a foundation of magnificent proportions; and many men have built upon it. Some of these men express views which are contradictory; and some have done violence to the work of the great originator of the structure.

Calvin's major doctrine is the sovereignty of God; and all else, religious or political, is related logically to that. For him, God stood in majesty unapproachable, the Lord of the physical world and of human life, of time and of eternity.

Let us realize that men had not yet developed the idea of a material world governed by physical *laws* resident in matter. The common view was that anything that moved was impelled by a *will*. Lacking the idea of a reign of law, men were prepared for Calvin's idea of a world under the reign of an infinite and eternal Will. Instead of believing that the world was as confused and disorderly as it seemed, Calvin believed that the eternal Will had a plan, a purpose, which was being worked out through the ages. With this Will was coupled an eternal Knowledge, an infinite Wisdom.

From his doctrine of the sovereignty of God, Calvin elaborated his doctrine of predestination. In the popular mind, probably Calvin is more closely linked with predestination than with any other article of faith. The common view can be stated simply. First, God's will is absolute. Second, He knows all things, including the future. Third, since God knows the future, it cannot be changed. Fourth, this includes the eternal fate of all human souls, so that they are foreordained to their fate. Enemies of Calvin, and over-zealous friends, have thus misrepresented him. The sequence of ideas, stated thus simply, is much too simple.

Such a view of God's absolute knowledge of the future, and of an infinite Will which fixed the future of men thus rigidly, would leave no room for man's free will. And Calvin guards very clearly the doctrine of human freedom, of our power of choice, from which comes our moral responsibility. Calvinism is admittedly subtle, and hard to understand; so it has often been misinterpreted even by disciples of the great thinker. But it is not fatalistic. It has not usually led Calvinists to say that they were doomed to perdition, and could do nothing to remedy the situation; or that they were predestined to heaven, and were in no danger of losing this inheritance. Paradoxical as it may seem, Calvinism has been, characteristically, a powerful stimulant of the human will.

Calvin taught that the writers of the Bible were divinely guided; and, hence, Scripture must be true in every part. In building his picture of God, Calvin felt he must take into account the whole Bible. Hence he exalted the authority of the Book, as well as the austerity of its divine Author. Calvin's own era, like preceding centuries, was marked by cruelties to men; and Calvin found it easier, than men of today, to believe the cruel ideas in the Bible, found especially in its earlier Old Testament books. Humanism in Europe was beginning to cultivate the great principles of mercy and compassion; but our modern humane sentiments did not yet prevail in Calvin's day. Rigidly logical, Calvin did much to fix, in some sects of Protestantism, the idea that the whole Bible is to be taken literally. Yet Calvinism, as developed by some of his associates and of his disciples, in later times, has allowed great latitude in articles of faith. There have been Calvinists who have believed in a progressive revelation of God's will through new interpretations of His Word. And there have been Calvinists who have been adamantine in believing that revelation was sealed forever.

One stimulating idea, derived from Calvin's views of God's decrees, is that men are God's implements. In the face of that fact, what else could be important? The king on his throne, and the humblest toiler at his task, if they are doing God's will, are equal in His sight. There was a wonderful influence toward democracy, in Calvin's teaching. Instead of deriving fatalism from the idea that God had a place and a plan for every man, Calvin's disciples developed a dynamic sense of the worth of human personality. It gave an unexpected, almost paradoxical, reinforcement to the humanism of that era.

In England, Puritanism became much more definite in its program under the influence of Calvinism. Conflicting forces were at work in that land, and there were times of great confusion. The Reformation made progress during the brief reign of Edward VI, the young son of Henry VIII. But "Bloody Mary," the next sovereign of England, was determined to restore Catholicism. Hundreds of the best scholars of England went into voluntary exile, to escape the dungeon and the stake. Many of them went to Geneva and studied with Calvin. On the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, these men returned with very clear ideas and definite plans for further reforms in the Church of England. Devoted subjects of their Queen, and loyal members of the established church of their native land, they sought to apply Calvinism to the doctrine and government of that church. They desired ardently to remove all the vestiges of mediævalism. Therefore at last the term "Puritan" was applied to them. What had long been a living force had gained the added definiteness of a descriptive name. Probably no nation ever experienced, in the same length of time, a profounder moral and spiritual change than was wrought in England by Puritanism during the century following the death of "Bloody Mary," and the return of the men who had sat at the feet of John Calvin, in his theocratic kingdom in Geneva. Geographically that theocracy was little; but in its influence it was of continental proportions.

Chapter XII

HERETICS AND MARTYRS OF THE LIBERAL FAITH

MEN have the right to read the Bible and to interpret it for themselves. So declared the men of a long line of reformers before the Reformation: the Puritans before the name was first applied to them. "The right of private judgment" was a principle which was uttered clearly in the dawn of the Reformation. Yet the dawn became clouded, and storms threatened and broke in terrifying violence. There were leaders of the Reformation who saw that this emancipating doctrine, while in keeping with the noble humanism of the age, was easily abused. The progress of the whole movement was endangered by extremists; and some of the leaders retracted the expression of faith in so great a degree of freedom of the individual mind. They sought regulative, even restrictive measures to curb those whom they regarded as extremists.

The brave endeavor had been made in some countries to put the Bible into the hands of the common people before men anywhere had invented and created the machinery for quantity production of books. Let us recall that suddenly, about 1440, the printing press was invented and men hastened to use it to print the Bible. The right of men to read the Bible, and to interpret it, was asserted long before there were adequate educational facilities to guarantee general enlightenment among the people. Schools and books were deficient. Even after the printing press was multiplying books, it was necessary to wait many generations before there was, in any country in the world, a system of schools adequate for popular education.

In other words, men were moved by the ideal of a country in which all the people should be educated, enlightened by the Bible, and inspired by the experience of direct and personal communication with God through the pages of the Book; and that ideal was cherished long before it was physically possible to give the general population of any country an adequate education, and before the invention of the printing press which would provide books for the common people. Idealists had the dream of a large measure of liberty, such as would be safe and wholesome for a population morally trained and intellectually disciplined. But how were the training and the discipline to be provided before the era of schools and the printing press?

Even in the time of the Reformation, when the Renaissance had done a great and enlightening work, and the printing press was supplying thousands of books, there was another serious lack. The spirit of the age did not provide for the variety of opinions which must result from a large degree of freedom to think and to utter one's thoughts. That era had not yet developed the modern principle that men of contradictory creeds can live together in peace without contradiction. Tolerance and broad-mindedness were very rare; indeed a man who preached tolerance was likely to stir up vehement protest. For centuries men had thought in terms of absolutism—the idea that whoever possessed the truth possessed it completely, and had the right to use compulsion on other people. "Think and let think; live and let live" is a very modern doctrine, anticipated by few in the dawn of our modern era. Some of the early prophets of this liberal view suffered martyrdom for it.

In many countries, as we have seen, there was a very strong movement for the assertion of the authority of the Bible above that of the church, and of the right of men to interpret the Bible for themselves. There was an assumption, on the part of the leaders of this movement, that the Bible would yield *absolute* truth. Though men, beginning their study of the book, might differ, they would come to agreement as they carried their study to completion. Interpretation of the Bible must tend toward uniformity and not diversity: such was the hope of those who declared for freedom in interpretation. They were bewildered and dismayed to find that the opposite was true, and that men were abusing their freedom. Rulers on their thrones were distressed to find that their subjects were organizing into conflicting sects; and that, in some instances, these sects were actually engaging in civil war which threatened to wreck the political government. To preserve their kingdoms, there were kings who threatened to check the whole movement of the Reformation and to reassert both religious and political absolutism. Nation went to war with nation over theological disputes; and the time came, in the midst of the Reformation, when Europe was in general turmoil. The foundations of all institutions trembled; and no one could predict with certainty which institutions would continue to stand.

The great lack was that men did not yet see that in any one nation there might be a variety of sects, each with its distinguishing marks, and each man respecting his neighbor's religious opinions, and all working together as good citizens of one kingdom. Variety in unity was not yet understood. "We, who are many, are one body in Christ," were words which men read, but the force of which they did not yet feel. Even the noble humanism, of the era of the Reformation, had not led men to a full respect for the variety of views of truth which might be held by enlightened minds. Men did not yet see how precious is originality in religious experience, and in thought, and in utterance. A few men got a glimpse of the truth; but it was perilous for anyone to exalt it into a universal principle, urging freedom of thought and free utterance by spoken word or the printing press. A man would invite martyrdom by saying, "Loyalty to truth demands the liberty of open utterance for all serious opinions held by men of enlightened minds." In the beginning of the era of the Reformation, men held the view that the Bible must be made to yield an orderly system of theological doctrine differing from that of Catholic orthodoxy. It was a utopian dream that a multitude of men, working independently on biblical interpretations, would produce such a system; that a composite picture of what isolated thinkers surmised about the likeness of God, as revealed in the Bible, would be a harmonious whole. The only alternative, since an orderly body of doctrine was an imperative necessity, was for men of exceptional training and unusual scholarship to produce a system of theology. Martin Luther went far toward the completion of the task, but John Calvin not only surpassed Luther, but differed from him in essentials. Lutheran views were accepted widely in some countries; but Calvinism came nearer to universal acceptance in the Protestant world than did any other theological system of that era or of the centuries that have followed. Let us, however, see clearly that even while Calvin was still speaking, other men expanded Calvinism to cover a variety of theological opinions.

Thus a Protestant orthodoxy took form, in contrast with Catholic orthodoxy; and there was a strong tendency to make the Bible an absolute authority, even as the Roman church claimed to be. The truth of the authority of the Holy Spirit, speaking to the minds of devout men, was in danger of complete eclipse. Men who needed the principle of the right of private judgment, in order that they might justify their own utterance, were ready to destroy other men who exercised that same right and had as much ability to justify their own claim. Patience, forbearance, and tolerance were virtues which few were cultivating; and in which, indeed, few had any faith. Narratives of a few famous characters of the time will illustrate these principles.

Michael Servetus was born in Spain in 1511, two years after the birth of John Calvin, in the neighboring country, France. He was a man of unusual intellectual ability and had a capacity for independent thinking. He was reared in the Catholic faith, but at the age of seventeen years became acquainted with the Bible and the Protestant view of individual interpretation. In his own studies, in the course of many years, he was not convinced that the Catholic view of the Trinity was taught in the Scripture. He studied Greek and Hebrew in order better to understand the Bible; and also studied law and theology. He became convinced of the error of the Catholic doctrine of baptism: that the water of baptism works the miracle of regeneration and that, for this reason, all infants should be baptized. In contrast with this view, he believed that all Christian believers should be baptized as an expression of their own mature faith; that even if baptized in infancy they should be rebaptized in mature years. People holding this latter doctrine were called Anabaptists and were making much confusion; and consequently the doctrine was regarded as dangerous.

Calvin, of course, was a heretic from the point of view of Catholic orthodoxy. And Servetus, outwardly conforming to the Catholic faith even while engaged in private speculations, was a heretic from Calvin's point of view.

The two men met in Paris in 1536, the year after Calvin had published his great work, his *Institutes.* They were young men, Servetus only twenty-five and Calvin two years his senior; but their thinking was well matured. Each disapproved strongly of the views of the other; and this hostility was to have tragic consequences.

Ten years later, the year of the death of Martin Luther (1546) Servetus entered into a correspondence with Calvin; and this proved fatal to the young Spanish scholar. He had uttered his views in spoken words and on the printed page; and Calvin saw that the principle of the right of private judgment was hazardous. In 1553, Servetus was arrested and brought before the Roman Inquisition, in France. While in prison, expecting death at the stake, a mysterious event occurred. The door of his prison cell opened quietly in the gray of an early morning; and the faint light through the barred window did not reveal the form of him whose friendly hands had stealthily opened the lock. Stepping outside his cell, in a daze of surprise, Servetus found the outer door of the prison open, and made his escape.

Traveling under the protection of a disguise, and sometimes by night, he made his way very slowly toward the border line between France and Switzerland. He was four months in making the perilous journey. He rode into Louyset, a village on the French border, opposite the Swiss town of Geneva, on Saturday, August 6, in the year 1553. Again, in the early dawn, he walked across the border into Geneva. This was Sunday morning; and he put up at an inn, The Rose, and made inquiries for a boat that would take him to Zurich, hoping from there to make his way into Italy and to reach Naples. He learned that there would be no boat before next day, Monday. This being Sunday, he went to church, supposing that in the throng he would pass unnoticed. But he was recognized, was arrested, and was put on trial as a heretic. On October 26, ten weeks after his arrest, he was sentenced to be burned alive and this was done next day. His death came at the instigation of Calvin; and on the ground of his denial of the doctrine of the Trinity and of his repudiation of infant baptism. Servetus was passionately devoted to Jesus Christ, and was an ardent biblical scholar; but the doctrine of the

Trinity seemed to him to be tritheism. He could find no biblical proof, to him convincing, that Jesus Christ had been the eternal God before his birth in Bethlehem. So Servetus was one of the early martyrs of the liberal faith. He anticipated views widely held by many ardent Christian people today; and the danger, to Calvinistic orthodoxy, of his views was that they seemed reasonable and biblical to a great many people of that time.

Another story of romance and martyrdom deserves a place in our story. In the same year that, in a little town in France, John Calvin was born, Francis David was born in an obscure village in far-off Hungary, the son of the shoemaker in Kolozsvar. He was, of course, reared a Catholic; but, in his youth, he was sent to Wittenberg where he encountered Luther. Though he studied there for four years, he was still nominally a Catholic when he returned to his own country and took charge of a Catholic parish and a parochial school. But Lutheran views were penetrating that country, and, in a number of towns, Lutheran congregations were gathered. Francis David, with other young priests, cast in his lot with the Reformation; and when he was only forty-five years old he was elected the Lutheran bishop of his native land.

Recall that the central doctrine of Catholicism is that, in the miracle of the mass, the bread and wine are changed into the actual body and blood of Christ — the doctrine of transubstantiation. Martin Luther, in making his break with Rome, developed the idea that, though the body and blood of Christ are *present* in the sacrament, the bread and wine continue also to be their own same *substance*. This doctrine is called consubstantiation; the bread is still bread, but the body of Christ is in it; and the wine is still wine, but the blood of Christ is in it. Men argued about these doctrines with terrible earnestness, and held their differing opinions as a matter of life-and-death. Calvin's whole system of thought was called the Reformed Theology; for he had gone past Luther on several points. Luther was born in 1483, only about a quarter of a century before Calvin's birth, but theology moved rapidly in those fateful years. Luther died in 1546, about a decade after the publication of Calvin's great work, his *Institutes*.

Calvin taught that the words of Jesus, "This is my body; this is my blood," used in the last supper with his disciples in the upper room in Jerusalem, were not to be taken in a literal sense but only symbolically. He contended that both Catholics and the Lutherans were too materialistic in their views.

The theology of Calvin flooded Hungary, as it did other European countries. When Francis David studied the Calvinistic view, of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, he was convinced of its truth. Further study led him to declare himself a Calvinist. In 1554, he had been elected the Lutheran bishop, and just ten years later he was elected the Calvinistic bishop of his country. This was an impressive change, but stranger events were yet to come.

As Francis David went about his work, preaching ardently, and explaining Calvinism to people eager to understand the new faith, he found the doctrine of predestination difficult to justify. More and more his humane feelings protested against it, and then revolted. He also developed an attitude of mind, which was far ahead of his time: he saw that different sects could live in peace as neighbors. He preached religious toleration when there were few voices to sustain and cheer him; but his broad-mindedness gradually won many to his view.

In the meantime, in that land, men were discussing the doctrine of the Trinity. Remember that, a thousand years before, men had made their way up the valley of the Danube River, from Greece, spreading the heretical views of Arius. And with the upheaval of the Reformation, and the new emphasis on the authority of the Bible, thousands of men were developing anew the ancient faith that Jesus Christ was best understood when much emphasis was placed on his humanity and less on his deity. In this debate, men differed as to the balance of the two natures in the Man of Galilee; but many were glad to give him the adoration of their hearts, even if they had cast aside the idea that he was equal to God the Creator of the world.

Michael Servetus and Francis David have been called "Unitarians," but the word has not yet been found in any publication prior to the year 1600, more than a decade after the death of Francis David, and nearly a half-century after the burning of Servetus. But Francis

David departed from Calvinism, and preached a more humane doctrine which was widely accepted in that country. In the course of his travels, he came to his native town, and, standing on a great stone at a street corner, he preached to a congregation that could not have been packed into any one of the churches. He was not "without honor in his own country," for the new faith which he proclaimed won the entire population of the town. Again he was chosen bishop, and, in later years, the churches of this fellowship, which had revived Arianism, were called "Unitarian."

What the people of that country, and that time, meant by the name is not clearly defined. But one of the great events of the life of Francis David was in 1568 when he stood before the Diet, or Parliament, of his native land and made so magnificent a plea for religious toleration that the national law was changed; and, for the first time in any country of the whole world, complete religious liberty was enacted. Though he is distinguished above other men by being elected three times a bishop, in the course of his theological progress, he was more distinguished when he became a spiritual shepherd of all the people of his native land. The edict of religious toleration was passed by the Diet unanimously, and was issued by King Sigismund. It is so clearly prophetic of our modern principle of toleration, that it should be recorded in full. It reads: "His Royal Highness, as in former Diets, so in this, now confirms that ministers of the Gospel may everywhere preach and explain it, each according to his own understanding; and the community may accept or reject the teaching as it thinks good. No force may be used to compel acceptance against conviction. Congregations are allowed to have each the preacher they wish. Preachers shall not be molested, nor any one persecuted, on account of religion. No one is permitted to imprison, or to remove from office, any one because of his teaching. Faith is the gift of God, which comes by hearing, and the hearing through the Word of God."

For a few years, Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, and men of this new faith lived as friends and neighbors, recognizing that they all believed in one God though differing in their definitions of Him. This was at the same time that the Roman Inquisition was devastating

Spain and the Netherlands, and was working destruction in other countries.

This "Golden Age" of religious toleration was brief, for the liberal-minded king died. After a brief period of political uncertainty, a Catholic sat on the throne; and he invited the Jesuits to come and do their work of the destruction of religious freedom. Francis David had begun to preach that only God the Father should be worshipped, though Christ should have the adoration of men's hearts. He was singled out for persecution, and was deserted by friends of all four of the religions of his country. He was imprisoned in the dungeon of the old mediæval castle on the top of the great rocky hill at Deva, under a life sentence. This was in 1579, and he lived only a few months. At the age of seventy he met his martyr's death.

An event of unusual interest occurred in the last year of his freedom. For some months he had, in his home, a "paying guest" who came for the definite purpose of holding him back from his most radical step of declaring against the worship of Jesus Christ. This was Faustus Socinus, an Italian liberal who was then very influential in Poland. The views of the two men were not very unlike. Socinus had been asked if he believed the doctrine of the Trinity. He would not give a negative answer, but, like Arius, he declared that he would go no further than does the Bible in stating the doctrine. Socinus had been born in Italy in 1539. He sojourned in different countries, but found a people receptive to his views in Poland; and he did there a constructive work in religion and education. He could not believe that Jesus Christ had existed previous to his earthly life, and thus he rejected the views of orthodox Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists. After years of intense labor, preaching, teaching, and printing, he was the victim of an uprising of the masses against him, instigated by the Jesuits. He was prematurely old at sixty-five and died an untimely death. In a few years little remained of the results of his labors.

Michael Servetus, Francis David, and Faustus Socinus were exponents of broad-minded views toward which the sixteenth century was not hospitable. They anticipated the time when men might differ radically in their religious views, and still keep personal friendship and spiritual fellowship. Their courage gave promise of an era more humane. But they died, not having received the fulfilment of the promise, but "having seen it and greeted it from afar." Only in our own time is the promise fulfilled.

Before his martyrdom, Francis David said, "We desire not only that our persecutors go unpunished, but that they be honored and rewarded; allowed to write and to teach against us, to condemn us, to do whatever they feel disposed against us." We are reminded of the words of his Master: "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Our story takes us now to a time a half-century after the death of Francis David, and to a country on the opposite side of the Atlantic Ocean. The influence of a thousand years of nonconformity in religion was making itself felt in the New World. The foundations were being laid for a new great nation that would bring to flower the progressive faith of a long line of pioneers in religion.

CHAPTER XIII

THE PURITAN PATTERN OF LIFE

IN 1629, there were, on the New England coast, two little settlements of English-speaking people representing two different streams of influence from the mother country. One was Plymouth, the other Salem. Plymouth had been settled in 1620 by one little shipload of Pilgrims, who were members of a Separatist church which had been organized at Scrooby, England, in 1606. At Salem a few Puritans had arrived, the first representatives of the great Puritan migration; and they organized their church, in 1629, in Salem. This was the first church that was ever organized in New England. Whatever else these Puritans planned, in the course of their voyage from England to Salem, they had not the slightest intention of having any fraternal relations with the Separatists of Plymouth. The two settlements represented two different ideas of the Christian church; and let us keep clearly in mind that Plymouth and Massachusetts were two distinct colonies and were not united politically until more than sixty years after the settlement of Massachusetts. The distinction between Pilgrims and Puritans is very important; and the story of their unexpected fellowship is interesting.

Imagine a company of explorers in two boats, floating down a river, the course of which no man knows. They come to where the river divides, and the two boats part company. The land between the two branches of the river is high and rocky. The explorers believe that they have entered two diverging valleys and that they will not meet again. But after a time they discover that this high rocky land is only an island and that the divisions of the river flow together again. This illustration will serve the purpose of clarifying the historical relations of the Pilgrims and Puritans. In England, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, the party that desired to see a reformation of the Church of England was very strong. These reformers represented a strong river of influence, but no one could predict with certainty whither that river flowed.

Then there came a time, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, when two ideas, sharply contrasted, developed among the reformers; and some men who had been called Puritans earned the title of Separatists. It seemed as if the future course of the two reforming parties must be in entirely different channels, with a high and rocky ridge separating them. But the early decades of New England life proved that Separatism and Puritanism were divided by only an island. The two channels came together, and the two streams were reunited in one river of religious life. It is important to trace the course of events leading to this division of the reforming influences and their reunion.

To anyone who looks only superficially at the religious thinking of the times which we are considering, it may seem as if the Puritans, of various parties, were very literal in their reading of the Bible. But we should realize that they read it with the utmost care because they believed that so they could discover the will of God. To them, God was a *living* reality, working very definitely among his people, and it was of the utmost importance for them to discover the divine Will. There were thousands of these people who were quite ready to go to the ends of the earth, and literally to go through fire, if thus the will of God should be fulfilled.

After the invention of the printing press and the publication of Bibles by the thousands, these people felt quite certain that God had given them the Book in order to reveal Himself; and that they were a people chosen to fulfill the will of God. It was as vital to them to know the Bible as it was for a navigator to have the chart of the coast along which he wanted to sail his ship.

Men studied the Bible with the minutest care in order to discover what God intended the Christian church to be. The reformers were certain that the ideal church did not exist in their time; and they wanted to discover if it had existed in the early Christian centuries. They were sure that whatever else God cared about, He was supremely desirous of seeing His perfect church organized by the people of His choice. They had to admit that, very mysteriously, God had not given, in the New Testament, a complete, clear, definite, unmistakable description of His perfect church. But could not the picture be pieced together from even the few biblical passages which seem to contain parts of that picture?

After the Protestant Reformation, there was a strong movement, in some European countries, toward organizing national churches. In England the established church was, at least theoretically, the church of all the people of England. But was this God's plan for His church? Was there anything said in the New Testament about such a church? Many men failed to see that in New Testament times, the Christian church was in a *minority* in any country in which it existed. It was a church which invaded many countries, and was persecuted wherever it went. Except as an unfulfilled hope, men could not be expected to write into the New Testament a plan of a Christian church established in a country where the church had become dominant, for it had not yet become dominant anywhere in the world, at the time when the New Testament was written.

Therefore, in England, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, men were divided in opinion regarding what should be the pattern of the church in England. That party which was supported by the queen wanted to keep a good many of the familiar things which belonged to Catholic tradition and custom. They wanted a national church which should include all the people of the kingdom. They wanted the church ruled rigidly by the body of its bishops with the archbishop in command, and the queen the supreme head of the church. They sustained the policy of conformity according to which all the people should give unquestioning obedience to the civil and religious authorities.

The Puritans of that time are misunderstood by many people as a sect. But let it be said most emphatically that the Puritans believed in a national church for England. They wanted the entire population of the nation included in the fellowship of the Church of England. But they saw the great evil of the Catholic inheritance, and wanted to *purify* their beloved church of all things papal. As we have seen before, they were not called Puritans from any attitude of self-righteousness, or any idea that they were personally more *pure* than others. The name Puritan meant that they desired, what had not yet been achieved, a national English church *purified* from all things suggesting the Roman Catholic church. The

Puritans, as we have seen already, read their Bibles with very great devotion. They were not disturbed by the fact that the New Testament did not describe a church like their dream of a purified Church of England. They were certain that the living God approved their plans and would give them — even if only after many years — the fulfilment of their ideals.

In seeking an interpretation of a historical situation, we are greatly helped when we find that abstract principles became embodied in the life of a leader. What had been abstract becomes concrete; and what may have seemed vague becomes clear. One man of this early time led a movement for immediate reform of religion in England. In many of his utterances he sounds strangely modern. He attempted what could not be carried out fully in his own time; but his ideals are expressed in thousands of Christian churches today. He was Robert Browne who anticipated the principle which gives local self-government to all those churches (of many denominations) which have the congregational form of government. In his own character he was lacking in the steadfastness of purpose and unfaltering will which were needed in the leader of this reform in which he made an adventure. He led a movement for the founding of churches quite outside of the national Church of England; but later returned to the ministry of that church. Congregationalism owes him a great debt of gratitude for a clear and admirable statement of his doctrine of the church, a statement which determined the entire future of the Congregational movement. Many people, who accepted his teaching, had the courage to act upon it and *separate* themselves from the Church of England, thus winning the title of *Separatists.* But it is not surprising that, when Robert Browne had returned to the fold of the established church, the Separatists resented bitterly the nickname of "Brownists." From Browne they derived a body of doctrine to which they sought to be faithful; but they required a higher courage than could be derived from his example.

One of the most potent phrases in all the writings of Robert Browne is this, "Reformation without tarrying for any." Of course he derived his first great impulse from Puritanism; for he wanted to see churches which had nothing of the papal tradition in them. But he declared that it was wicked for Puritan ministers to "tarry till the magistrate command and compel them." That is, he was not willing to let the process of church reformation wait until the civil laws of England could be changed. He bid men defy the laws, disregard the authority of the established church, and proceed immediately to organize, in their communities, local churches of Christian believers.

His phrase, "Reformation without tarrying for any," may seem to suggest that he was weary of waiting for the overturn of the colossal weight of the national church: that it expresses a mood of impatience. But it was more than that. Look at the *local* church, in any *community*, according to the *Puritan* plan and also according to the *Separatist* ideal. Just as the Puritan believed in a national church in which the whole population of England would be included, so he believed that in an English village there should be one church, holding in its fellowship all who lived in that village. The pastor of that church should be, according to the Puritan plan, the shepherd of all the people, even if many of them were perverse.

On the other hand, the Separatist believed that in every such village there should be a church which would admit to its membership only those whose faith and life made them truly Christian. The Separatist wanted to detach himself from the Church of England as a *national* body; but also he wanted, in his own village, to separate himself from unbelievers and all who were unfaithful to the Christian life. "Come ye out from among them and be ye separate" was a New Testament text which he wanted to apply even in his own village and among his immediate neighbors. Thus we see that Robert Browne's phrase, "Reformation without tarrying for any," did not merely express despair but hope; not merely the negative idea of abandoning the existing church but the affirmative idea of creating new churches. To fulfill his ideal would mean that thousands of church organizations be formed and a new Christian fellowship be established. These churches should represent an exalted faith, a great loyalty, a sublime courage, and an unfaltering readiness to fulfill the will of Christ. The movement went forward in the face of adamantine opposition, bitter persecution, and incalculable suffering. Robert Browne became the

"Lost Leader" of the movement. Other men carried it to a far-reaching success. These new leaders could have said,

> "We shall march prospering — not thro' his presence;
> Songs may inspirit us, — not from his lyre;
> Deeds will be done, — while he boasts his quiescence,
> Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire."

The Separatist movement organized a few churches in England in the time of Queen Elizabeth, but only the far-off years could see the fulfilment of the movement.

At this point we apply our illustration of the river which divides into two streams which seem destined never to come together again. Of course the Separatists were persecuted by those in England who had civil and religious authority; but these radical reformers were also strongly opposed by the Puritans, who were committed to the program of reforming the national church but who wanted to *keep that church whole*. There were ardent Puritans who, in this same era, were active in the endeavor to purify their church and were thrown into the prison at Newgate as being disobedient to the discipline of the church. The archbishop visited them in the prison and, in stating their position, they said, "We are not for an unspotted church on earth, and, therefore, though the Church of England has many faults, we would not willingly leave it." The Separatist wanted a church "unspotted from the world." In those days when the Puritans regarded the Separatists as rebellious, and Robert Browne was saying that Puritan ministers were "wicked," it would have been only a very bold prophet who would have said that the divided streams of Puritanism and Separatism would flow together again as a united river, and that the cause of their division would prove to be only an island in the river. But the time came when, in New England, each of these streams gave power to the other, and, in united power, they accomplished great good. In the closing years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Puritans and Separatists seemed hopelessly at variance. Their *plans* differed, but their *purpose* was one: namely, to fulfill the will of God and to offer Him the kind of Christian church which He planned and desired. Yet in those years the men who held the two differing opinions were asserting their opinions even at the risk of life itself. Only a later time could fulfill "the unity of the spirit."

Queen Elizabeth was a shrewd, wise, and determined ruler and it was her policy to hold together Papist and Protestant, Puritan and Separatist, and all other men whose opinions differed from each other. When she died in 1603, England was afflicted with the first of the Stuart kings who had none of Elizabeth's grace or diplomacy. This was James VI of Scotland who became James I of England. He did not understand the religious earnestness of the Puritans and their loyalty to the nation. He said almost immediately after his coming to the throne, "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land." James also quarrelled with the English Parliament which represented the hopes of the people for religious reform, government according to English law, and the whole great movement for the welfare of the English people. Queen Elizabeth, as head of the established Church of England, had maintained that position with dignity and authority, co-operating with the bishops, other clergy, and the people. But King James asserted "the divine right of kings" and, in an extremely autocratic spirit, launched a persecution against those who stood for the religious rights of the people. Among the higher prelates were many who adopted willingly the autocratic purpose of the king and were glad to do the actual work of persecution.

At this point in our story we have reason to turn, with great interest, to a Separatist congregation in the North of England, in and near Scrooby. Their "hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth" and they resolved, "whatever it might cost them" to organize a church of Christ according to what they believed to be the New Testament pattern: "as the Lord's free people, to join themselves by a covenant into a church estate in the fellowship of the gospel" and "walk in all the ways which God had made known or should make known to them." Their church was organized in 1606.

They were not seeking to overturn the Church of England; they asked only to be let alone that they might fulfill what they believed to be the will of God for them. But they were beset and watched night and day, and they could find no peace. They met for worship wherever they might hope for seclusion; but it became increasingly clear that nowhere in England could they hope to attain their ideal of a church.

They believed that each church should have a pastor, chosen by their own membership; and that one of their own laymen should be elected as their "ruling elder." Each church should be a little democracy. Thus John Robinson became minister and William Brewster their ruling elder. Robinson was one of the really fine Christian scholars of the time; and Brewster was the incarnation of the courage and purpose of the Separatist movement. To escape persecution in England this heroic church sought to migrate to Holland; but, for making the attempt, many of them were thrown into prison. In 1608, however, the migration was accomplished and they reached Amsterdam. For some time they sought, in various communities in Holland, to find a peaceful abiding place; but "they knew they were PILGRIMS and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits."

They found relief from persecution, but their life in Holland could not be a permanent solution of their problem. Much they talked about laying the foundations of a colony in the New World, "yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing so great a work." In 1620, a selected company of these Pilgrims returned to England to prepare to make their great adventure. From Plymouth, England, they sailed as summer was waning: one hundred people on the little ship, the *Mayflower*. They cast anchor within the shelter of Cape Cod in November and made their final landing in December at Plymouth where they established their colony. Their pastor, John Robinson, could not undertake the voyage, but they were under the spiritual guidance of their ruling elder, William Brewster. Their church, organized at Scrooby, England, in 1606, kept its existence in unbroken continuity during the exile in Holland and the voyage in the *Mayflower;* and it continues to this day with its same noble covenant. It is the First Parish of Plymouth, and its congregation is fittingly housed in a stone church on the slope of Burial Hill. In the chancel is a beautiful picture of the scene in the cabin of the *Mayflower* when the compact was signed.

Less than ten years after the migration of the Pilgrims to Plymouth, with their Separatist church, the first of the Puritan settlers came to Salem. A group of men from England had established a fishing business at Cape Ann, and had built simple habitations. In 1626, they began what proved to be a permanent settlement at Salem. A Puritan minister, John White of Dorchester, England, was concerned for the spiritual welfare of the settlement, and sought to secure a Puritan minister to settle in Salem.

This was one root of what proved to be a plant of vigorous growth: a Puritan settlement, with a Puritan church, in the New World. Good reports had reached England of the colony and the church of the Separatists at Plymouth. If they had comparative peace, might not the Puritans attain it in the same way? The thought led to action, and late in June 1628, John Endecott, with a company of Puritan settlers, sailed in the ship *Abigail* from Weymouth, England, and arrived at Salem (then called Naumkeag) early in September of that year. Their church was organized in the following summer, 1629. Meantime some very significant things happened.

In England, the promoters of the idea of a Puritan colony to be planted in New England, made great progress. Late in April 1629, they sent a fleet of five ships from England with settlers and their necessary equipment, the ships arriving at Salem late in June. With this company were two Puritan ministers, Samuel Skelton and Francis Higginson. This meant more than the strengthening of the little Puritan settlement at Salem, for, in March 1629, the Puritans had obtained from King Charles I the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. To Endecott, who was in charge of the settlement at Salem, a copy of the charter was sent.

One of the first concerns of Mr. Skelton, Mr. Higginson, and the others at Salem, was the plan for organizing their Puritan church. Would they do in Salem what the Puritans in England had long advocated, and form a purified Church of England? During that momentous winter of 1628–1629, when so much had happened in England to promote the Puritan movement, much had happened in New England to determine the future character of Puritanism in the New World. Serious illness broke out among Endecott's settlers at Salem, and he sent to Plymouth for the help of a physician; and his plea was granted. Samuel Fuller, a physician and also a deacon in the Plymouth church was sent to Salem for the relief of the distressed Puritans. During that fateful winter there was much discussion of the problem of what the Christian church should be, and much earnest searching of the New Testament. Gratitude for the humane help of the Pilgrim physician, and the light gained on the meaning of the New Testament, led the Puritan governor in Salem to write to the Pilgrim governor in Plymouth that, "The Lord's people are all one people."

In the early summer of 1629, Skelton and Higginson, with their comrades of the new migration, discussed these matters with Endecott and the earlier settlers. The result was that the Puritan church in Salem, the first church to be organized on New England soil, was organized according to the Separatist plan. Though Skelton and Higginson were already ordained clergymen of the Church of England, their ordination at the hands of their bishops was ignored and they were ordained anew by authority of the new church in Salem. They were installed, one as pastor and the other as teacher of the church. Fraternal delegates sailed across from Plymouth to Salem to express the Christian fellowship of the two churches. These events fixed upon New England Puritanism the principle of the congregational form of church government, and the congregational ideal of a church composed of Christian believers.

Let us keep clearly in mind that, in crossing the Atlantic Ocean, the major purpose of Puritanism was changed. In England it was seeking to reform an *existing* church; but in New England it was *creating* churches on virgin soil. In England it was seeking to reform the established church *from within;* but in coming to New England it found no church needing reformation. In departing from England, the Puritans abandoned the English Book of Common Prayer, for that book represented enforced conformity. They brought the Bible, and adopted the Pilgrim faith that "the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his Holy Word."

The Bible became their supreme guide in their new plan of life.

In 1630, began the great Puritan migration which, in ten years, brought twenty thousand settlers to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. The flexibility of their faith is shown in their readiness to adopt congregational methods in their church life. The church in Salem adopted a covenant similar to the one in the church in Plymouth. The First Church in Boston, organized in 1630, adopted a similar covenant. Immediately the plan was adopted generally by those who were organizing Puritan churches: a broad and inclusive covenant, instead of a confining creed, as the basis of church membership. Every church was free to adopt also a creed as a statement of the consensus of opinion of its members; but there was no standard creed, no central creed-making power, and no spiritual autocracy in the Puritan plan of life. The Puritans of Massachusetts were determined to have no bishops, and no men who, under any name, exercised autocratic power.

If we look at New England Puritanism from the outside, and from our modern standpoint, it looks harsh and austere. Ask this question, "What was the theology of the Puritans?" The answer comes immediately, "Calvinism." Then we may take a look at Calvinism and find it asserting doctrines which are repellent to us. But if we proceed to impute these repellent doctrines to the Puritans we are guilty of a logical fallacy. Calvinism was, indeed, the background of the Puritan theology, but the Puritan held that theology *in a humane form.*

The Puritan asserted, as did Calvin, that God is the supreme sovereign, ruling the world of nature and of man by his decrees. But the Puritan did not draw the conclusion that he was the helpless creature of the divine decrees; rather did he rise up in his own strength and declare that he was the implement for the doing of the divine Will, and had also divine power. His "fear" of God was not a dread which left him dumb and hesitant; but was an adoration of the Supreme Being which made him articulate and determined. The Puritan feared God so greatly that he feared nothing else in the world.

Puritanism had inherited from the humanism of the preceding century so great a confidence in human power that the whole Puritan plan of life, in New England, centered around a valiant faith in man.

This faith in the powers of man led the Puritans in New England to establish the most democratic form of religion that they could devise. They planned a "Bible Commonwealth." In order that all the people might be able to read and interpret the Bible, the Puritans created a public school system in Massachusetts. In order to provide books, they established a publishing business. In order to be sure of a scholarly ministry for their churches, they founded Harvard College. These, with their democratic town meetings and their congregational churches, were expressions of their faith in humanity, and their determination to use all their powers in promoting the welfare of the entire population.

Emerging from a life in England, which was deficient in the humane impulse, the Massachusetts Puritans were leaders in a life much more humane. Their plan of life is to be compared with the life out of which they came, and when this is done, the Puritans are revealed as the religious liberals, the humanitarians and the progressive party of that era. The flowering of their faith, in later years, reveals the quality of the life in the roots which they planted in the virgin soil of New England.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE PURITAN CHURCHES

THE twenty thousand Puritans who migrated to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, in the decade beginning in 1630, organized their churches on the plan of having a church in every town; and their churches were all congregational. In the very first years they made sure of the principle of *local* fellowship as their first necessity. A general consensus of opinion guided them in this, with no compulsion. But the leaders saw that, in time, they must provide for *inter-church* fellowship. In 1633, John Cotton of Boston, England, came to Boston in New England, and became teacher of the church there, of which John Wilson was already the pastor. Cotton is credited with being the organizing genius who developed the comprehensive plan of congregationalism, which, while leaving every local church free to develop its own spiritual life, brought the churches into a unified life and fellowship.

In March 1635, the General Court requested the ministers and other representatives of the churches of the Colony to meet and consult on matters of discipline. The confusion caused by Roger Williams had become serious; and Ann Hutchinson was causing increasing turmoil in the colony. The General Court was able to deal with the *political* aspects of these incidents, but was widely concerned for the peace of the *churches.* It was because they endangered the stability of the government, and not as a limitation of private religious opinions, that these two persons were sent from the colony.

When any assembly of the ministers and other representatives of the churches was held, good will was increased, and public opinion was developed. But such an assembly did not claim authority over the churches. The decisions were more of the nature of a record of public opinion than of authoritative legislation. Such an assembly could not command the churches, but could offer weighty opinions and important agreements. It could offer interpretations of Scripture and could also declare what had come to be the *usage* of the churches and the prevailing *opinions* among ministers and people. Thus it could confirm public opinion and help to mould its further development.

In keeping with this principle, the present "Massachusetts Congregational Conference" declares in its by-laws that, "Following Congregational principles, this conference shall under no circumstances exercise authority over churches or individuals or interfere with the government or discipline of the churches. It shall advise and counsel the churches when requested, but it is recognized that each church has the power of self-determination in all matters." This principle was established by the Puritans even while the great migration of 1630–1640 was still in progress.

In May 1646, the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay requested that there be a general assembly of the ministers and other representatives of the churches of the colony to agree upon the plan for regulating the life of the churches. What was sought was "the right form of church government and discipline," agreeable to the Scriptures. The General Court disclaimed *authority* to issue a call for such an assembly of the representatives of the churches. Some of the churches expressed the idea that the General Court ought not to have taken even this first step toward such an assembly, but should have waited in silence for the churches to initiate the movement. This is to be contrasted with the situation in England where the civil government had authority over the churches.

The result of this request of the General Court of Massachusetts was the assembling of "The Cambridge Synod" to which came representatives of the churches of four New England colonies: Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth. Fifty churches were represented, and sessions of the Synod were held in 1646, in June 1647, and in August 1648. This was the first general assembly of the Puritan churches of New England.

The Cambridge Platform was adopted, the real author of which was Richard Mather, minister of the church in Dorchester. It gives a definition of great significance: "A Congregational Church is, by the institution of Christ, a part of the militant visible church, consisting of a company of saints by calling, united into one body, by a holy covenant, for the public worship of God and the mutual edification of one another, in the fellowship of the Lord Jesus."

This definition is notable for a number of reasons. One is that it does not picture a church according to the idea of the Puritans of twenty years before in England, who aimed at including all the people; but that it adopts the idea, in which Separatists had been pioneers, that the church in a community consists of the Christian believers, or "saints by calling."

Another notable thing is that the church members are united on the basis of a *covenant.* The churches in Plymouth, Salem, Boston and other communities had pointed the way toward this vital plan. The purposes of the church, as stated in the definition, exalt God, render spiritual help to human beings, and promote fellowship with Christ. When the question of a creed was raised in the Synod, the decision was that no action was needed. This confirmed the essential freedom of the Puritan churches of New England. Each local congregational church was an entity, and was self-governing. The covenant gave it inclusiveness and allowed for individual opinion. Any local church could make its own creed.

This Cambridge Platform gains added meaning when we compare the Cambridge Synod with the Westminster Assembly in England and contrast the results of their labors. These two gatherings represented respectively the Puritans of New England and of England at the same period. As we have seen, the Cambridge Synod held sessions in 1646 and the two following years. The Westminster Assembly first met in 1643 and completed its work five years later. The Cambridge Synod remained in session until news came of the Confession of Faith adopted by the Westminster Assembly. Then the Cambridge Synod took final action and adjourned. We should realize that the Puritans of England and of New England were in constant communication and that their ships were like shuttles carrying threads of thought and weaving a fabric of influence. Let us look at the events which form the background of the Westminster Assembly. With the assembling of the Long Parliament in England in 1640, the representatives of the people assumed the dominant place in the government. Civil war followed, the royal forces were defeated, and King Charles I was beheaded in 1649. Thus the Puritans in England asserted effectively the right of the people to rule by means of Parliament.

The Puritans dominated the Parliament during these years, and were determined to reform radically the Church of England. Archbishop Laud, the head of the Church, was beheaded in 1645 for conspiring against the rights of the people. Meantime, in 1642, the Long Parliament abolished episcopacy. This act, by which there should be no more bishops in England, was to take effect on November 5, 1643. The general sentiment of Parliament was in favor of the Presbyterian form of government for the church; but action must be taken to create this new government to replace the old. At the same time, therefore, that it voted to abolish the episcopacy, Parliament issued a call for a great assembly to meet in June 1643 to deal with this problem. The assembly met accordingly, in Westminster Abbey, hence its name, the Westminster Assembly. Its duty was to *advise* Parliament on this vital matter of reforming the Church of England and especially to *advise* regarding its form of government. Let us be perfectly clear that it was not a church council, and that it had no legislative power of any kind, either for church or state. Of the men who were invited to be members of the Westminster Assembly, one hundred and twenty-one were clergymen, for the most part Puritans: that is, they were clergymen of the Church of England, sympathetic toward its proposed reformation. Twenty members of the House of Commons and ten members of the House of Lords were invited. Advisers from the Church of Scotland, which was Presbyterian, attended the sessions of the Assembly in order to draw England and Scotland more closely together.

Though the Assembly advised the Presbyterian form of government for the Church of England, and though Parliament accepted the advice and legislated accordingly, the plan was never made fully effective. Thus the major purpose of the Westminster Assembly was a failure. But the Assembly accomplished results, in other directions, far beyond the dreams of those who called it into being. During the five years of its series of sessions, the Assembly surveyed the Calvinistic theology with great thoroughness; and the resulting Westminster Confession of Faith has shaped the theology of many millions of people, and to this day is the standard of faith for vast numbers.

Let us return now to the contrast between the Westminster Assembly and the Cambridge Synod. The latter body received with great interest the results of the work of the Assembly, and took action upon it. The major points were two. The first was the declaration of the Westminster Assembly in favor of the Presbyterian form of church government as being in accordance with the New Testament. The Cambridge Synod reasserted, as we have seen, the simple democracy of the congregational method of government as developed in the experience of the Puritan churches of New England. The second major point was the Westminster Confession of Faith. Recall that Calvinism had been growing for a century, and that many thinkers, more liberal than Calvin, had modified it. One of the most significant of these thinkers was Arminius who had emphasized the freedom of man's will. In the light of that century of growth, the new statement of Calvinism, by the Westminster Assembly, gained greatly in meaning.

The Cambridge Synod, which had agreed that there was no necessity for it to draw up a statement of faith, gave a general approval to the statement of Calvinism issued by the Westminster Assembly, but took no step to limit the freedom of opinion which had been fully confirmed in New England Puritanism. In considering these and other statements of faith, it is important to ask not merely *what* men believed but *why* they believed it. Two men may truthfully declare the same set of doctrinal statements, and yet differ widely in vital faith; for one may believe these things because he has accepted them passively, in obedience to authority, while the other believes them because his mind has wrestled actively with the truth and he has made his convictions his own. The man whose mind is passive has assented to a creed, while the other has attained a living faith. There is a vast difference between the two. The men of the New England churches were trained in thinking and in debate; and they had a very intelligent approach to faith. They could reaffirm the Westminster Confession as an orderly statement of the main points of their Calvinism without abating their mental alertness.

And they could declare themselves in general agreement, in their own ranks, without denying the latitude which they allowed all their members in private judgment.

At no time in all its history did New England Puritanism submit to an authoritative creed; and never did it recognize any creed-making body above the local church. Indeed it never created any religious authority which could impose its will on the churches. The Cambridge Synod spoke with much *influence* but with no legislative *power*. When it dissolved, it left no executive officer to enforce its will. It was desirous of building lasting defenses for the freedom of the churches. The humane spirit of New England Puritanism had greater assurance of success after the work of that Synod than before. If, as has been truly said, the Cambridge Platform was like a written constitution for the New England churches, it was a guarantee that no authority would be created outside of the churches.

What has just been said about the humane spirit of Puritanism, in the face of written creeds, applies also to the interpretation of the Bible. The Puritans of New England believed very heartily in the Bible; but at no time did they establish the principle of literalism. Individuals or groups of men might, at times, endeavor to assert the letter rather than the spirit of Scripture. But that attitude did not become dominant in New England; and never did the Puritans surrender their essential spiritual freedom and admit the right of the spirit of literalism to dictate an interpretation of the Bible.

There was an excellent reason for the declaration of the Cambridge Synod that the Westminster Confession represented, in general, the theological opinion of the New England churches. These churches allowed so much *latitude* in the interpretation of Scripture, and such complete *liberty* to every local church to write its own creed, that the accusation was levelled against them, by men in England, that they were not orthodox in Christian faith. This accusation was made by men of the Anglican church and also by English Puritans. These men had never had the opportunity to test the truth that, in an atmosphere of *freedom*, faith may grow strong and very affirmative. When men are accustomed to an idea that faith is the result of an *enforced* orthodoxy, it is hard for them to understand the more vital spiritual faith which flourishes in an atmosphere of mental *freedom.*

When the Cambridge Synod met, there were members of it who thought it would be wise to draw up a theological statement for the guidance of their own churches. Other members of the Synod would have liked to have such a statement drawn up as a defense of their orthodoxy against these accusations made against them by Englishmen. Nothing else could have been quite so wise or shrewd as two decisions made by the Synod: first that there was no need of drawing up such a theological statement, and, second, that the Synod was in general agreement with the Westminster Confession. The men in Cambridge were shrewd enough to wait for the publication of the Westminster Confession of Faith and then to make the best possible defense against the English accusations, by saying to the English Puritans, "We agree with you in your theological statement." That was quite sufficient to meet any criticism of New England Puritanism; and it was in no way binding on the New England Puritans, for the Westminster Assembly had no authority. It was, though very influential, a purely advisory body. The force of public opinion in England, as in New England, was, however, very important; and the New England Puritans did not want to be misunderstood by their brethren across the sea.

In giving its general approval of the Westminster Confession of Faith, it is highly significant that the Cambridge Synod adopted an explanatory statement. Vital in Calvinism is the doctrine that men are *elected* to eternal salvation by the sovereign will of God. Many of the theologians, who followed after Calvin, asserted clearly the freedom of man's will. The Cambridge Platform makes special reference to the doctrine of election, or "vocation," as stated in the Westminster Confession, and says that it "passed not without some debate." Then it says that "the term of vocation, and others by which it is described, are capable of a large or more strict sense," and adds that it is not intended to be binding "precisely in point of order or method." It was only with this liberal understanding that the Cambridge Synod agreed to its adoption.

The humane spirit of New England Puritanism had kept its freedom and had also accomplished its diplomatic purpose. It was important to keep the good will of the Puritans in the English Parliament, for this made safer the essential liberty of the New England colonies. Thus congregational democracy in New England gained a constitution and also closely approximated spiritual independence.

CHAPTER XV

A GROWING FREEDOM IN RELIGION

WHEN a casual reader is perusing the early religious history of Massachusetts, he may ask, "Why did the General Court take such concern for the doings of the churches?" When we realize that the legislative body of the colony had no authority over the churches, it may seem strange that it did not simply allow the churches to go their own way. The answer is that the men in the colony who had the right to vote in political matters were the men who had also the right to vote in church affairs. Every minister who received a man into church membership took a step toward obtaining for him the suffrage in the colony and the right to participate in the colonial government. The principal reason why the General Court of Massachusetts wanted the Cambridge Synod to assemble was to consider church membership as affecting the suffrage. A serious question had arisen which was not yet settled when the Synod adjourned in 1648. It became more acute in the next decade, necessitating a Synod in 1657. This was followed by another, five years later. These Synods in 1657 and 1662 mark an important change in colonial church life, and the religious outlook of the Puritans. This introduces us to the story of the controversy which centered around the "Half-Way Covenant." The details of doctrine do not concern us as much as the widening of the horizons of Puritan life.

The essential points of the situation can be stated briefly. The Puritans who came to New England in the great migration were very earnest in their religion, and they aimed to make church membership a very vital thing. Candidates for church membership were expected to be able to testify to a vivid inner experience such as was evidence that God had called them to salvation. With this was linked an ardent faith which could be expressed lucidly. Let no one think that an *intellectual* assent to a Calvinistic creed was enough. In the Puritan faith, when it reached its noblest expression, there was a really beautiful mysticism.

In the plan of the Puritans, in the early years of Massachusetts, church membership was open only to these people of vivid spiritual experience and ardent faith. And the only men who could vote were the men who belonged to the churches and were qualified to receive that most precious rite, the Lord's Supper. People who belonged to a church were entitled to bring their infant children to the church for baptism, which for the children, was the recognition that they had been born into church membership. The hope of the parents was that their children might grow up into the faith and experience of the parents. The children had the right to grow up within the sheltering care and the watchful guidance of the church. If these hopes were fulfilled, the children would become fully qualified for church membership and participation in the Lord's Supper. These were beautiful hopes; and parents gave earnest heed to the spiritual instruction of their children. It is probable that three centuries ago there was no community in the world in which children had a happier or more wholesome home life than in New England in the first decades of the Puritan settlement.

This brings us to the time when the first of the American-born children of the Puritans were growing up to maturity. There were many of these young people who were deeply interested in the church, well instructed in the Bible, devoted to high ideals of Christian conduct, but unable sincerely to testify to the same ardent vivid religious experience as had moved their parents at the time of the great migration. Were these young people entitled to all the privileges of church membership? Should they be required to pass the same tests as the previous generation? Were they truly Christians?

One more step brings us to the time when the problem became more poignant. A few years more and these young people married and had their own homes. Were these homes Christian? Children were born in these homes, and the parents wanted to have them baptized in their churches. Should these children, the second generation of American-born Puritans, be baptized? If baptism be the privilege only of the children of full *members* of the churches, they were not fully qualified for baptism.

Imagine, then, the elderly minister of a Puritan church going to one of these *new* homes. These young people, the husband and wife, have grown up under his spiritual guidance and they want to be church members. They want also to bring these little children of theirs for baptism, and they look forward, a score of years, hoping that these children will grow up into complete church membership. The old minister, through all the years of his ministry in New England, has received into church membership only those who could testify sincerely to a vivid spiritual experience. What shall he do with these young people and their infant children? It was indeed a poignant problem, and the minister's heart must have been wrung as he considered it.

Theological standards said to the minister: "Adhere rigidly to the old tests of church membership." Humane impulses said to him: "Receive these young people into your church and baptize their babies, remembering the words of the Lord Jesus, 'Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God.' "

We see in Massachusetts another triumph of humane principles within Puritanism. By the year 1650 and onwards, there were many such new homes of young Puritans, many of these young people being American-born. The

Cambridge Synod, which ended its sessions in 1648, had *foreseen* this problem; but the Synods of 1657 and 1662 *dealt* with it. The decision in 1657 was that these young people should receive church membership even if they were not fully qualified for the Lord's Supper; and that their children should be baptized. This decision was confirmed by the very memorable Synod of 1662 which established this humane principle in New England Puritanism. This Synod of 1662 was much larger, and more fully representative of the Massachusetts churches, than was that of five years earlier.

The action of the Synod of 1662 was approved by the General Court of Massachusetts; but neither the action of the Synod nor that of the Court made it binding upon the churches. The debate continued vigorously and it was long before the principles of the "Half-Way Covenant" were adopted by the churches with anything like unanimity. Yet the inevitable result was that Puritanism recognized the truth that, while the religion of some Christians was emotional and introspective, the religion of others led them to be reticent. These latter might be as earnest as the others, and as devoted to the ideals of Christian life and good citizenship.

The discussion of the "Half-Way Covenant" had interesting results. One was a division in the First Church in Boston. The increase in population in the town had led to the organization of the Second Church in 1649. The Third Church (now called the "Old South") was organized in 1669 by a group of members who seceded from the First Church. Those who went out were in favor of the "Half-Way Covenant," while those who remained, in the First Church, held to the more conservative view. John Davenport of London, England, a Puritan minister, had come to Boston in 1637 and, after a few months, had decided to go beyond the territory of Massachusetts, as he regarded the Puritans of that colony as too liberal. He founded the colony of New Haven on stricter Puritan principles than those of Massachusetts. When the discussion of the "Half-Way Covenant" became vigorous, he stood for the more conservative way. A majority of the members of the First Church in Boston called him to the pastorate in 1668 though he was enfeebled by old age. His pastorate was terminated by his death when he had been in Boston only about fifteen months. His coming to the First Church caused the secession of those who organized the Third Church.

The discussion of the problem which lay at the heart of the "Half-Way Covenant" had another result: it gave much encouragement to the Baptists who took the ground that true baptism can be only of people old enough to make profession of their own faith. The Baptists pointed out that they had no such problem as disturbed the Puritans, the problem arising from acknowledging infants as being born into church membership.

Quakers and Baptists, though unwelcome among the early Puritans of New England, who feared the *political* application of their individualistic doctrines, had forced their way into Boston. Restrictive laws proved to be no sufficient barrier against them, for they were persecuted much more severely in other countries. The idea was forced upon the Puritans that churches of differing faiths could live side by side in the same community, and their members could be good citizens of the community. When we speak of the "Old South Church" as the Third Church of Boston we mean the third of the *Puritan* churches. In the true historical order, the third oldest church in Boston is the First Baptist Church which was organized in 1680. The Quakers had a meetinghouse in 1677, on what is now called Quaker Lane (for some years, Congress Square), which is not far from the old State House; and in 1697 they built the first brick church building ever erected in Boston.

Among the Puritan leaders who are pointed at by their critics, as examples of narrowness and conservatism, are Increase Mather and his son Cotton Mather, pastors of the Second Church in Boston. Yet when a Baptist minister, Elisha Callender, was ordained as pastor of the First Baptist Church in Boston, the right hand of fellowship was given in the service of ordination by Increase Mather; and the ordination sermon was preached by Cotton Mather.

It is happily recorded by the late George E. Horr, former president of the Baptist theological school at Newton, Massachusetts, that this action of the Mathers was the direct cause of a very large gift to Harvard College by Thomas Hollis, a wealthy Baptist of London, England.

This gift of the Hollis family, says Dr. Horr, was the largest received by Harvard from any one family until well along into the nineteenth century. Such a tribute to the broad-mindedness and Christian brotherliness of a representative of early Puritanism means a great deal; for Increase Mather was born in 1639 during the great Puritan migration and, besides his Boston pastorate, was, for several years, president of Harvard College. His diplomacy secured for the Colony of Massachusetts many concessions in its second charter, the negotiations terminating successfully in 1692.

The Puritans might reconcile themselves to the presence, in Boston, of Quaker and Baptist churches, but in this same period came a denomination which they regarded as hostile and which they resisted vigorously. In March 1687, the ritual of the Church of England was used in a service in Boston, and has been used continuously ever since; and in June 1689, a church of that denomination was opened, having been built to house a congregation of that faith. This new church was the first King's Chapel, a wooden building, the site of which is covered by the present massive stone building which bears that historically important name. This second King's Chapel was built in 1754.

The story of King's Chapel is of great importance for many reasons, among them its contrast with the Puritanism in the midst of which it was first planted and its influence toward bringing the more liberal element in Puritanism to a very definite expression. In England, Puritanism received its name because it was a movement to revise the ritual of the Church of England and to accomplish other reforms. In New England, the Puritans did not revise that ritual, for the simple reason that they did not bring it with them. But the time came, about a century after the founding of King's Chapel, when the members of that congregation did what Puritans had advocated as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth: they revised radically their ritual and terminated all reference to the authority of bishops. In Boston, Anglicans influenced Puritans; and Puritans, in turn, influenced Anglicans. But to understand this important result, we turn to early Massachusetts history, and trace important lines of religious development.

From the time of the founding of the colony onward for many years, the Puritans dreaded interference from England. We are not now dealing primarily with the story of political events but religious. In the minds of the Puritans of the great migration, the bishops of the Church of England, and the ritual of that church, were inseparably connected with autocracy. This feeling was brought to a focus by Laud, who, when the migration began, was Bishop of London and was appointed, a few years later, Archbishop of Canterbury. Thus he became the head of the Church of England, and he was a vigorous supporter of the autocratic purposes, political and religious, of King Charles I.

The Puritans who migrated to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, left their prayer books in England; and they passed a law in the colony that no-one should even advocate having bishops in their churches. The congregational form of government, for their churches, became a fixed policy. They wanted to test that plan without any interference. Their hopeful outlook was clouded, however, by the haunting fear that the Church of England, with its ritual and its bishops, would be forced upon them.

Against this, or any other malign plans of King Charles I, they fortified Boston Harbor and planted, on the highest hill in their little capital, the beacon which to this day is recalled in the names "Beacon Hill" and "Beacon Street." At the touch of a spark from flint and steel, the flame of that beacon would call the men of the colony to its defense.

When the Long Parliament took possession of the government of England, and the Puritans came into power, the Puritans of New England had less fear of drastic action against their liberties. But the English Puritans expressed themselves, as we have seen, in the Westminster Assembly during the five years of its sessions. When the English Parliament, with a gesture of friendship toward New England, formed plans for sharing in the government of the colonies, the New England Puritans requested that they be let alone to work out their life in their own ways; for there was a real danger that the English Parliament would prescribe a presbyterian form of government for the congregational churches of the New England colonies.

The period of the great migration is approximately a decade: from 1630 to 1640. The next two decades are the period of the power of the Long Parliament, followed by the English Commonwealth. In 1660 came the restoration of the dynasty of Stuart kings to the throne of England, and with this a renewal of the grave danger of interference, from England, in the affairs of the Puritan colonies. During the decade of the great migration, the power of Charles I was waning and there was only a decreasing danger of interference from him. But when, in 1660, his son Charles II came to the throne, the danger increased year by year. Until that time, English Puritanism had been a movement, as we have seen, *within* the Church of England. But King Charles II forced it *outside* of the established church. From that time forward, English Puritanism enters upon a new epoch in its history. It became the great power of the nonconformist movement in the religion of England. This change was not what English Puritans had anticipated. Always strongly loyal to England, they were placed in the attitude of men contending against the government, and the established religion, of their native land. Laws of great severity were enacted against the

Puritans and all other nonconformists. No longer could the Puritans elect a majority of the House of Commons as in the earlier times; and though the English Parliament did not sustain the political autocracy at which Kings Charles II and James II aimed, that body passed these laws against the Puritans, according to the royal purposes. Though in 1688 the parliament drove out King James II, thus accomplishing a great revolution, it did not restore the power which Puritanism had exercised before the restoration of 1660.

During the reign of King Charles II, the Puritans in Massachusetts had reason for an increasing dread of the royal ill will. Especially there was danger that the Church of England would be forced upon them. In England the power of the bishops was restored fully; and there was danger that that power would be extended to New England, especially in view of the readiness with which the parliament had legislated against nonconformists in England.

Like the stroke of a deadly thunderbolt out of a black and threatening cloud, came the hostile action of the English king. Charles II demanded the surrender of the charter of

Massachusetts; and, when this was refused, he annulled it. It was in June 1684 that he received the news of the colony's defiance and that he took his own drastic action. In our present story we are not concerned for the political events of those fateful years, except as these events are inseparable from the religious developments. But religious impulses were the determining factors in these political events.

In the first half-century of the settlement of New England, an increasing number of people who were members of the Church of England made their way into the colonies. In Massachusetts they found themselves unable to obtain the right to vote; and they were but a small minority of the population. A number of these people who, in 1679, were residents of Boston, sent a petition to the English king "that a Church might be allowed them for the exercise of religion according to the Church of England." The Puritans feared that, if such a church were founded, the authority of the English bishops would be extended to govern it; and that if once the principle of that authority were recognized in Massachusetts, their own church government would be destroyed. There were supporters of the royal policies who desired to see the ritual of the Church of England forced upon all the Puritan churches of Massachusetts, and these churches brought under the complete control of the English bishops. This would mean that the Puritan ministers would be completely silenced. In England the Puritan clergy had already been put under similar disability, and it was quite conceivable that English law would be made applicable to New England.

In these events, which involved the destruction of the charter rights of the Puritans in Massachusetts, Edward Randolph became famous as a mischief-maker. He voyaged back and forth across the Atlantic, plotting against the Puritans, and promoting the plans of religious and political autocracy. At that time the Church of England was theoretically endeavoring to convert the North American Indians to the Christian faith; and the Bishop of London had charge of funds to be expended in such work. In 1682, Edward Randolph wrote to the Bishop of London saying:

"In my attendance on your lordship, I often expressed that some able ministers might be appointed to perform the offices of the church with us. The main obstacle was how they should be maintained. I did formerly and do now propose that a part of that money sent over hither, and pretended to be expended among the Indians, may be ordered to go to that charge. . . . Since we are here immediately under your lordship's care, I with more freedom press for able and sober ministers, and we will contribute largely to their maintenance. But one thing will mainly help, when no marriages hereafter shall be allowed lawful but such as are made by the ministers of the Church of England."

In the same year Randolph wrote again to the Bishop of London and made additional proposition that "if his majesty's laws, *as none but fanatics question*, be of force with us, we could raise a sufficient maintenance for divers ministers out of the estates of those whose treasons have forfeited them to his majesty." To take the autocratic attitude of declaring English law in full force in Massachusetts, and of treating as guilty of treason all who would resist such autocracy, was indeed a drastic policy. At the same time that Edward Randolph was urging such plans, Governor Cranfield of the royal colony of New Hampshire was writing letters to the English Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, urging similar action against the Puritans of Massachusetts. He urged that Harvard College be suppressed and the Puritan clergy silenced. He also urged that it be made illegal "to admit any person to any place of trust but such as take the sacrament and are conformable to the rites of the Church of England."

Modern critics of the Massachusetts Puritans have expressed the opinion that the Puritans were very narrow-minded not to welcome the coming of the Church of England to the colony. If that church had desired to come only to minister to its own members in the colony, and had been willing to live on friendly terms with the Puritan churches, the situation would have been very different. But the founding of a church in Boston, of the fellowship of the Church of England, was dreaded as a threat of a supreme calamity. The Puritans feared that it would be like allowing an enemy to place a charge of high explosive under the foundations of the structure of their civilization.

King Charles II, by whose edict the charter of Massachusetts was annulled in 1684, died suddenly the following year. To devout Puritans it seemed as if the hand of God had smitten him for his iniquities, and was interposed for their protection. But his successor, King James II, went even farther in crushing the haughty Puritan colony. He sent, to New England, Edmund Andros to be the royal governor of all the colonies; and it was Andros who first brought the ritual of the Church of England into regular use in Boston and who founded King's Chapel. In addition to many acts of political autocracy, he was determined to humble the Boston Puritans who were staunch defenders of the colonial rights. When his royal brother Charles had demanded the surrender of the colonial charter, it was in the South Church that the great town meeting was held at which not a man voted to yield to the tyrannical demand. Governor Andros accordingly directed his policy of religious aggression against the South Church.

A priceless book, written at this time, is the diary of Samuel Sewall. He was an intensely patriotic Puritan, and a member of the South Church in Boston. In its printed form, his diary makes a huge volume; and it is a wonderful source of information about, and interpretation of, the colonial life of that time. To the historical facts he adds much that is of vital interest, and which humanizes the history. He was a great diarist, as was Samuel Pepys who, in England, was writing his famous diary at about the same period. Sewall's diary illuminates the story of Andros, King's Chapel, and the South Church. Some entries are recorded here. He writes:

"Tuesday, March 22, 1687. This day his excellency views the three meeting houses."

"Wednesday, March 23, 1687. The Governor sends Mr. Randolph for the keys of our meetinghouse, that [he] may say Prayers there. Mr. Eliot, Frary, Oliver, Savage, Davis and myself wait on his Excellency; shew that the land and house is ours, and that we can't consent to part with it to such use; exhibit an extract of Mrs. Norton's deed and how t'was built by particular persons as Hull, Oliver 100£ a piece, etc."

"Friday, March 25, 1687. The Governor has service in the South Meetinghouse; Goodman Needham [the sexton], though [he] had resolved to the contrary, was prevailed upon to ring the bell and open the door at the Governor's command, one Smith and Hill, joiner and shoemaker, being very busy about it."

In spite of all protests, the congregation of the Church of England occupied the South Church for more than two years, that is until the opening of the first King's Chapel in June 1689. The royal governor chose, for the Anglican service, the Sunday forenoon hour at which the Puritan congregation was accustomed to meet, and thus forced them to meet at a different hour.

Under the date of February 10, 1688, Samuel Sewall records the funeral service of Lady Andros, wife of the governor, which was held in the evening in the South Church. It is an impressive story that he tells, of the tolling of the bell, the funeral procession in the winter evening, the candles and torches in the church, and the commotion of the people who sought to crowd in before the arrival of the funeral procession. The records of the time show that many Puritan patriots, who would have ignored Edmund Andros as a tyrannical governor, expressed by silent courtesy or in words their genuine sympathy for the man in his deep sorrow; for Lady Andros was greatly respected.

The darkest period in New England history is from 1684 till the news came of the revolution in England in which King James II was driven from the throne to be succeeded by William and Mary. Armed revolt against Andros followed the announcement of the news in Boston. As he was thrown into prison, he could not be present at the opening of King's Chapel, in June 1689. Though it was against the vigorous opposition of the Puritan owners of the South Church that the Anglicans were their guests, a surprising fellowship grew up between the two congregations. We anticipate later events when we look forward to the time of another armed uprising against English tyranny: the American Revolution. At that later time an English general seized the South Church for military purposes; and the congregation of King's Chapel welcomed, as their guests, the congregation of the South Church. In the course of history, how strangely some situations are reversed! And how much more interesting history is because of its great inconsistencies!

With the opening of King's Chapel in 1689, the Church of England gained a permanent place in Boston. The new charter of Massachusetts, which went into force a few years later, legalized the churches of that fellowship. Though the Puritan churches (thanks to the shrewd diplomacy of Increase Mather who carried on the negotiations for the charter) continued to be the dominant element in the religious life of the colony, the Puritan mind widened its horizons to accommodate the idea of Puritans, Quakers, Baptists, and Anglicans living together in peace. In the course of years, came churches of other denominations. The years from the granting of the new charter to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, to the outbreak of the War of the American Revolution, constitute a new epoch in the development of the Puritan faith. The sense of fellowship with men of other forms of faith was an important new element in Puritan thinking at the beginning of this epoch. But the coming of King's Chapel and other Anglican churches had a significant influence upon Puritan theology; an influence which ought to be recognized as of real importance.

Chapter XVI

A LIBERAL FAITH AND THE GREAT AWAKENING

TO anyone looking only at outward appearances, it would seem as if an element of greater rigidity had been introduced into the religious life of Boston by the founding of King's Chapel. Its congregation used the prescribed ritual of the Church of England and acknowledged the authority of the English bishops. The people of that congregation were more likely to sympathize with the royal government of England than were their Puritan neighbors. They had religious fellowship with those people in England who were communicants of the established church. That church in England had prestige and power and a long tradition of authority. The members of King's Chapel did not have the freedom of congregational government, nor the right to formulate their own covenant and creed as did the neighboring Puritan churches. So far as the influence of King's Chapel might extend in Boston and Massachusetts, it would seem to a casual observer as if it would tend toward conservatism in religion.

Though it seems like the blending of incompatible elements, the Anglican church of that time was inculcating a humane theology, that of Arminius. This Arminian theology liberalized Calvinism wherever it was accepted among Calvinistic people; and it had this effect in Boston and, more widely, in New England. Back of this is a strange story of religious contrasts, which extends over many years, and has great importance for the development of religious thought and life in New England.

To follow this story, we go back to the time when the Church of England was detached from the Roman church. Immediately two lines of strain, which later became lines of cleavage, developed in the religious life of England, one tending toward perpetuating the familiar forms of worship and enforcing conformity; and the other toward purifying the church of its mediæval inheritance and giving greater freedom to the people. Theologically the two parties were not far apart. But the one kept something of

Catholic orthodoxy while the other was developing a theology from the Bible.

Then came the great influence of John Calvin who began the development of the most complete system of theology that the Protestant world has ever possessed, a system carried to greater completeness by his followers. The party in England which was keeping more closely to Catholic tradition was influenced by Calvinism, but not so greatly as was the progressive party which, as we have seen, came to be called Puritan.

While we must make allowance for a variety of theological tendencies, it is broadly true that the theology of Puritanism was Calvinism. But from Calvinism the Puritans derived not only a theological belief but a political doctrine. Wherever Calvinism spread, it tended toward democratic ideas in government. The Calvinist who believed himself the chosen creature of God, and the implement of the eternal Will, regarded himself as a citizen of a divine kingdom more important than any earthly kingdom. To him the distinction between a serf and his king was of less consequence than that between God's elected people and the non-elect. "I shall obey God rather than the king" was the logical declaration of the Calvinist who had, in his heart, the assurance that he was one of God's chosen people. No king had any authority unless it were derived from God's eternal plan. This is why Calvinism tended so strongly to shatter political autocracy.

English Puritans three centuries ago menaced the autocratic power of the king and of the church; and this is what should be expected when we realize the implications of their Calvinistic theology. When Bishop Laud became the Archbishop of Canterbury, and hence the head of the Church of England, he realized keenly that he must not only maintain a ritual, and sustain a discipline, but combat Calvinism with a different theology. But where should such a theology be found? Nothing sufficient to meet the needs of the situation was native to England. The Church of England was not developing a theology inherent in its own life and thought. It was necessary to look abroad for a theology and to adopt it bodily not as a matter of spiritual consistency but of strategic necessity.

Archbishop Laud turned to the theology of

Arminius, a Dutch scholar, and imported it; and then he gave it to the Church of England not by persuasion or by education, but by edict. Though the Puritans came into political power temporarily, and Archbishop Laud was beheaded, the Church of England renewed its support of the Arminian theology after the restoration of 1660, and this was the theology of King's Chapel in Boston.

To see the significance of this theology, let us recall the major facts of the life of Arminius. He was born in Holland in 1560, and so was only four years old when Calvin died. His was a brilliant mind; and as he grew up he learned and accepted the theology of Calvin. He studied at Geneva, where Calvin had had his seat of power. He studied also at Basle and Leyden. When he was forty-three years of age, he was called to the chair of theology in the University of Leyden. In preparing to participate in a debate, in which he was to defend Calvinism, he reviewed that faith, endeavoring to make it as reasonable as possible and to find expressions which would make it persuasive.

The result of this fresh survey was that he made radical modifications of the views of Calvin, which led to the development of a theological system sharply in contrast with Calvinism. Very properly this system received the name Arminianism. The line of cleavage begins with the assertion, by Arminius, of the freedom of man's will, a doctrine in keeping with the humanism of Erasmus. Calvinism asserts first of all the power of the sovereign will of God. Consistently with that, it asserts that certain men are God's elect; and that God's decree carries them through their earthly life to an assured salvation in Heaven. But Arminius, with his strong inclination toward humane doctrines, modified Calvin's view by declaring that man's will is free and that man has the power of resisting the divine purposes. A man's election, said Arminius, is conditional upon his own will. God offers him salvation, and he is free to accept or reject the offer. If he accepts the offer and becomes one of God's chosen people, he still has freedom to turn to sin and lose salvation; and thus even the saint is not impelled toward Heaven by an irresistible power.

The whole Calvinistic system becomes unjointed when the assertion is made that man's free will can resist the divine decrees. Though the Arminian theology exalted greatly the power of the human will, and gave a man a sense of being the master of his own fate, it did not do one very important thing which Calvinism did, namely to give a man the sense of being the implement of the sovereign Will which is certain to have its own way at last. But the followers of Arminius were relieved of the most repellent doctrine of some phases of Calvinism that God decrees many people to hopeless and eternal torment.

It was the humane theology of Arminius which Archbishop Laud adopted deliberately and then prescribed for the Anglican church. We see in this the creation of one of the most interesting and yet contradictory situations in all Christian history. In England the Puritans held a theology in which was exalted the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God with the logical corollary that man is the creature of the divine decrees; but the Puritan was contending valiantly for a large religious and political liberty for the people. Confronting the Puritan was the High Church Anglican who was supporting a political autocrat, sustaining religious absolutism, but adopting a theology which asserted the power of the human will to resist even the sovereign will of God.

If we expected to find perfect consistency in the contest between Puritan and Anglican we should expect to find one of them asserting religiously the freedom of man's will and politically the right of man to self-government; and we should expect to find the other asserting the sovereignty of the supreme Will and linking with it the political doctrine of the divine right of kings. But strangely the political autocrat and the political democrat seem as if they had traded their principal theological weapons and then returned to the fight. Later in our narrative we shall see, in the Methodist movement, what tremendous power there was in the doctrine of man's free will when that doctrine was detached from its illogical comrade, the Anglican High Church, with which it was "unequally yoked together."

For the present, however, let us return to the next point in our story. The double paradox, created when Archbishop Laud adopted the Arminian theology, was repeated in Boston after the founding of King's Chapel. The New England Calvinist was promoting one of the most democratic forms of government which the world had ever seen; and he resisted the introduction of a church which, with a humane theology, represented a tyrannical government.

The situation in Boston gains added interest from the fact that the date of the Westminster Assembly in England comes between Laud's adoption of the Arminian theology and the founding of King's Chapel. The men who composed the Westminster Assembly had a full knowledge of the work of Arminius and his immediate followers. Their reassertion of Calvinism was made in the light of that knowledge. That Assembly balanced Arminius against Calvin and reasserted Calvinism in a statement which seemed to them worthy to stand for all time.

Let us recall, however, that the Puritans of Massachusetts, in the Cambridge Synod, while accepting in general the Westminster Confession of Faith, left a record of some dissent from the doctrine of man's election to salvation by an irresistible decree. The humane impulse, which wrote that record of dissent into the statement of the Cambridge Synod, prepared many Boston Puritans to listen sympathetically when, in the course of years, the Arminian faith in man's free will was represented by King's Chapel. In time Puritanism was greatly influenced by the humane doctrine of the freedom of man's will. Here was another influence which gave wider horizons to the Puritans of New England.

The revolution in England, which terminated for all time the power of the Stuart dynasty, occurred in 1688, fifteen years before two very important events: for in 1703 John Wesley was born in England and Jonathan Edwards was born in New England. They grew up to be the exponents of two sharply contrasted tendencies in the religion of their century. John Wesley, born and reared in the Anglican church, learned the theology of Arminius in a perfectly natural way: it was the theology of his boyhood home and of the church which ordained him to its ministry. Jonathan Edwards learned Calvinism in a form more rigid than that which prevailed in Massachusetts for he was born and reared in Connecticut. Entering the ministry of a Puritan church, in Northampton, Massachusetts, he set himself with increasing vigor to the task of checking what he regarded as the dangerous tendency toward liberalizing Calvinism. Wesley detached the doctrine of man's free will from the restrictions of the Anglican church and based upon it an ardent evangelical appeal to men; and never has England been more deeply moved by preaching than it was during the Methodist revival. Edwards detached the doctrine of the divine decrees from the more liberal doctrines of his time; and, by such sermons as his on *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*, carried forward in New England such a revival as Calvinism has never produced in any other land. Again we have a strange paradox that the preaching of a rigid type of Calvinism should so move the wills of men that the revival led by Edwards deserved its title of the "Great Awakening." Preaching God's sovereignty led to a great stirring of the will power of men. The new emphasis on the divine decrees led men, in great numbers, to rise and obey the call of God. Many of the churches throughout New England gained greatly in their membership and in the vigor of their spiritual life.

CHAPTER XVII

FORCES THAT DIVIDE

WHEN the statement is made that Jonathan Edwards revived a vigorous Calvinism, it should not be understood that it was the Calvinism of Calvin. Edwards was a great thinker, and had much originality in his thinking. He was logical, but not coldly rational. His thinking produced an orderly system of theology, and yet he was ardently mystical. Calvin emphasized the idea that God divided men into two classes, the elect and the non-elect; and a man might have difficulty in discovering the purpose of God concerning him. Edwards emphasized the idea that men were converted or unconverted; and his own spiritual experience was so vivid that he encouraged in other men a vivid consciousness of being born of the Holy Spirit. Older Calvinists labored and agonized over the question, "Am I one of God's elect?" In the work of Edwards, thousands of men were led to ask, "Have I been born again?" The preaching of Edwards was not fatalistic. Rather did his emphasis on the divine decrees lead men to a vigorous use of the power of their own wills.

Edwards, as he came to young manhood, was deeply concerned over what he regarded as the extremely dangerous liberal tendencies among the New England churches of the Puritan inheritance. He had graduated at Yale College, at the head of his class, at the age of seventeen years, and then had studied theology. At the age of twenty-four he began his work as minister of the church in Northampton, Massachusetts, being ordained to the pastorate by his maternal grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, who was then eighty-four years old, and was nearing the end of a very long pastorate. There Edwards continued his work until the year 1750. The church in Northampton was very important, being the largest in Massachusetts outside of Boston.

Because of his great experiences in bringing men to a vivid experience of conversion, Edwards became profoundly convinced that the Puritan churches were in grave danger from the tendency to admit people to membership on terms too lenient. When he had been pastor in Northampton more than twenty years, he endeavored to enforce the idea that the only people entitled to church membership, and to admission to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, were those who had been consciously converted.

In this endeavor to raise what he regarded as a higher standard, Jonathan Edwards sought to overturn the established custom of the church in Northampton, and he set himself against the teaching and example of his own grandfather, Solomon Stoddard, who, as we have seen, preceded him in the pastorate. At the time when the "Half-Way Covenant" was adopted, Solomon Stoddard had been in favor of even greater leniency. He was a student in Harvard at the time of the meeting, in Cambridge, of the Synod which framed the much discussed Covenant. During the sixty years of his ministry at Northampton he had had great success in winning people to the Christian life, and had gone even beyond the provisions of the "Half-Way Covenant" in inviting them to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. But Jonathan Edwards desired to return to the idea of the Puritans of the time of the great migration, and to make of his church "a community of saints." This led to a sharp conflict, and to his expulsion from the pastorate.

The year 1750 marks the beginning of a new period in his life. During the next seven years he had time to do a great deal of writing and to create an important theological literature. After his untimely death in 1658, a vigorous group of thinkers developed systematically what was named the "New England Theology," building an impressive structure on the foundations laid by Edwards. The Congregational churches became divided into two groups by their acceptance or rejection of that system of theology, which was a modified Calvinism.

This tendency to division had appeared even during the years of the "Great Awakening." In the preceding chapter a contrast has been drawn between John Wesley who, in leading a great revival, magnified the Arminian doctrine of man's free will, and Jonathan Edwards, who, in his leadership of another revival, emphasized the Calvinistic idea of the sovereign will of God. The difference between Wesley and Edwards was magnified by the career of George Whitefield. For a time, Wesley and Whitefield were associated in the great Methodist revival in England but Whitefield developed strongly Calvinistic views. He found associations more congenial with Edwards in New England where he became one of the leaders of the "Great Awakening." Though not in any sense an organizer, and not a great thinker, Whitefield did a memorable work; but one of the major results of his influence was to drive a wedge through New England congregationalism. He spoke with scorn of those with whom he disagreed; and he opposed the broad-minded plan, which many New England churches followed, of using a comprehensive covenant as the basis of membership. He forced many of the Calvinists and non-Calvinists into strife and controversy; and this led in time to the division of many New England churches. Like the needle of a compass, pointing in opposite directions, there is always a sharp polarity about such a movement as the "Great Awakening," for men are divided in their sympathies. Edwards and Whitefield preached so vigorously against the ideas of Arminius that, while a great many men agreed with them, many others agreed more strongly than before with Arminius. This divergence of views became more pronounced as the group of disciples of Edwards shaped the "New England Theology," which, as we have seen, was a modified form of Calvinism.

It was characteristic of Calvinism that it tended originally toward cold rationalism; but it had developed, in Puritanism, a warm human sympathy. The "New England Theology" had, as its immediate background, an ardent revival of religion. That theology, therefore, endeavored to rationalize the Christian experience of conversion; and ministers who were sympathetic toward that theology desired to apply to church membership, in some measure, the idea of the church as a fellowship of consciously converted people.

In writing of this theological movement, and of the men who were its leaders, Professor Benjamin B. Warfield of Princeton said, "The inheritance of the party from Edwards showed itself much more strongly on the practical than on the doctrinal side. Its members were the heirs of his revivalistic zeal and of his awakening preaching. They also imitated his attempt to purify the church by discipline and strict guarding of the Lord's table — in a word, to restore the Church to its Puritan ideal of a congregation of saints." Though this attempt had caused Jonathan Edwards to lose his pastorate in Northampton, his ideal was given a wide application by his spiritual followers throughout New England.

Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College from 1778 to 1795, and one of the greatest scholars of that era following the American Revolution, was sympathetic toward the "New England Theology," but predicted the early collapse of the movement. This prediction was based partly on the smallness of the numbers of those who, in its early years, accepted it; and partly on the variety of opinions held even by the little group of leaders of the movement.

The fulfilment of the prediction was long delayed; and one great reason was that the successor of Ezra Stiles in the presidency of Yale College was Timothy Dwight the grandson of Jonathan Edwards, and a thinker and preacher of great power. When Dwight became president of Yale College his election was properly regarded as a victory for his theological views.

Through the score of years of his presidency, which continued till 1817, he infused the "New England Theology" into successive classes of Yale students. These young men went out, with the ardor of youth, and an evangelizing zeal, to do a work widely influential in the churches of New England and even in a wider area.

Dwight's theological views were given orderly expression, too, in published form. It is said that "Probably no written system of theology has ever enjoyed wider acceptance than Timothy Dwight's *Sermons*" and that even in England this book passed through forty editions.

The era of the work of Dwight covers many of the years of the preaching, in and about Boston, of the pioneers of the Universalist and Unitarian movements, and of the drawing of sharp lines between "Conservatives" and "Liberals." The former emphasized religious *experience* and sought to cultivate it by revivalistic methods. The latter were more inclined to depend on educational methods and to follow the normal ways of the churches. The former urged people to testify publicly to their experience, and made much of such testimony in admitting them to church membership. The latter were inclined to maintain an attitude of reticence toward religious experience and to regard an outwardly good life as a recommendation for an applicant for church membership. "Conversion or culture" was an apt phrase used by a revivalist, who added that conversion was the profound work of the Holy Spirit, while culture was a superficial work of men.

In summing up the essentials of the situation, Professor C. A. Beckwith of the Chicago Theological Seminary has said of the promoters of the "New England Theology" that final authority was allowed to the individual judgment alone, not to the letter of the Bible; and he adds, "In their controversies with the Universalists and Unitarians, the New England theologians assumed the same attitude toward the reason and the authority of the Scriptures as their opponents; only they represented a different point of view. Their radical difference lay in their conception of Christian experience." The use of, or aversion for, revival methods made a line of cleavage through New England Congregationalism.

We see, then, three tendencies among the churches of the Puritan inheritance. One was the growing emphasis on the humane views of Arminius, characteristic of the liberal party. On the opposite hand was the restoration of Calvinism by men who were intensely opposed to the liberals. Between the two was a large third party, moderate in theology, but vigorous in promoting spiritual life. Some of the Calvinists showed a dogmatic spirit in their utterances, and were inclined to utter again the advice of George Whitefield that Calvinists have no further fellowship with liberals.

The sympathy which many men of the Puritan tradition felt for the more humane doctrine of Arminius, as contrasted with Calvinism, came not only from theological convictions but from an independent spirit. When Calvinism was asserted in its extreme form, it offered the doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God, but it offered it also in a very mandatory fashion. Extreme Calvinists said, "Here is the truth, and, what is more, you must accept it." There were many men who had no objection to Calvinism in a mild form; indeed, it represented their theological opinions. But these men could very well reply to the extreme Calvinists, "When you say I *must* believe what you tell me, I refuse to believe it." They objected more to the *compulsions* of this revived Calvinism than to its *doctrines*. This dogmatic attitude of the new group of ardent Calvinists might bring docile minds to submission; but it stirred independent minds to revolt. Some of these independent thinkers would rather die than accept any doctrine which men sought to *compel* them to believe.

A few years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, a new leader of Calvinism had risen to power. Jonathan Edwards had gone to his reward, but among his disciples, who were continuing his work, Samuel Hopkins was a leader. Upon him the mantle of Jonathan Edwards descended. In 1791, Hopkins published his most important work, *A System of Theology*. He pushed the new views of Calvinism to their utmost logical conclusions, going beyond even Jonathan Edwards in some distinctive points. He had a large following, who magnified his influence by calling themselves not only Calvinists but *Hopkinsians*. Thus the conservative party in the theological strife had a leader and also a name. They became conscious of being a united group. And they had something of the feeling of being crusaders: that they were fighting for the faith, and defending it from those who would mar or destroy it. Humane impulses weighed less with them than logical consistency. They would keep a syllogism even if it meant the loss of the emphasis on human values.

The sharp polarity of the strife resulted in the formation of a liberal group diametrically opposed to Hopkinsians. In resisting Calvinism in this revived form, they tended to deny it in *any* form. In resenting the dogmatism of the new group of Calvinists, they were inclined to cast aside Calvinism entirely. Indeed, if this liberal party wanted to assert the sovereignty of God, they would assert that God the Father stood alone in his unapproachable majesty. They would repeat the views of Arius, of the early Christian centuries, that Jesus and the Holy Spirit were not to be considered as possessing the absolute and infinite qualities of God the Father. One step more, and they were ready to declare that God the Father was the one and only divine being: that there was no trinity of being in God. Consistently with this, they were ready to declare that Jesus, however exalted, was not one of the persons in the Trinity; and that the Holy Spirit was the influence of God the Father and not a person in any way different from that of the single Supreme Being.

In spite of more than a thousand years intervening between the preaching of Arius, and these New England liberals, there was a theological similarity between them. The Calvinists began to apply to the liberals, as a term of reproach, the name, Unitarian. For a time, the liberals resented the term, and then they accepted it and wore it willingly. Centuries before, Rome had said to men, "You *must* believe the doctrine of the Trinity." The dogmatic Calvinists repeated the demand saying, "You *must* believe it." To many minds, the doctrine of the Trinity was associated with the dogmatic spirit. Resisting this dogmatism, many men were led to deny entirely the doctrine of the Trinity. These liberals, making their stand against dogmatism, felt that they were making a religious "Declaration of Independence"; and they regarded themselves as the champions of freedom of thought. Thus in accepting the name, "Unitarian," they declared it the equivalent of that of champion of religious freedom.

In this way, by the year 1800, there were, in New England, two theological parties, each with a name, and strongly opposed to each other. If the Hopkinsians regarded themselves as valiant crusaders for "the faith once delivered to the saints," the Unitarians regarded themselves as the stalwart champions of the rights of men and of freedom of thought. They were willing to be regarded as heterodox if only they might continue the age-long contest against what they regarded as dogmatism.

There was a good deal of dynamite in the theological situation, and this might at any time cause an upheaval, even if a disturbing event might be, in itself, a minor one. The upheaval did come, and the Puritan churches of New England, bearing the Congregational name, became two contending parties. Their fellowship was shattered after a long and romantic life, in which they had moved forward together. The disrupting event came in 1805, when Henry Ware, minister in Hingham was elected Hollis Professor of Theology in Harvard College. Just as the election of Timothy

Dwight to the presidency of Yale College, a few years before, was a victory for the conservatives, so the election of Henry Ware was a victory for the liberals.

To one looking at this historical situation superficially, it might seem that this was a small event which finally split the fellowship of New England Puritanism. But to anyone who understands the feelings of men of that era, and who enters sympathetically into the situation, the event was of major importance.

Recall that it was important to Massachusetts Congregational churches, because it was an event in Harvard and also had to do with the instruction of ministers for the pulpits of these churches. Harvard College had been one of the first great idealistic enterprises of the Puritans, who, as we have seen, founded it even before the Puritan migration had come to an end. Harvard had been created to train scholarly ministers for the Puritan churches. The record of the early years is very moving to anyone who appreciates Puritan history. Here is the immortal declaration, —

> "After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our homes,

> provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil government, one of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the churches when our present ministers shall lie in the dust."

Even in 1800, when Harvard had grown far beyond its Puritan beginnings, the men who were most interested in the Congregational churches of New England, regarded it as Harvard's chief duty to provide ministers for these churches. The *traditional* faith of the churches was Calvinism, even if it was modified; and the *traditional* theology taught at Harvard was likewise Calvinism. Therefore the Calvinists of New England, especially those of the more pronounced type, regarded it as the duty of the professor of theology in Harvard to adhere to this tradition and to teach Calvinism.

Harvard, however, had been a nursery of liberal thought for many years, not only in theology but in every phase of human thinking. The college had sustained revolutionary sentiment during the years leading up to the war for independence, and during the great conflict. Dogmatism was alien to the spirit of Harvard; therefore, in 1805, it was a man of the liberal party who was elected professor of theology. Henry Ware's scholarly qualifications were above question, but he was not "orthodox" in his theology according to the standards of the Hopkinsians. These men raised the cry that Harvard had betrayed her trust, and was disloyal to the Christian faith.

On the other hand, the liberals felt that the essential Harvard tradition was not Calvinistic orthodoxy but loyalty to the Puritan ideals of faith in human power. Harvard had been recognized as fostering the spirit of self-reliance, both religious and political. At the time when the tyrant, Governor Andros, was endeavoring to cast aside the dearly bought rights of New England Puritans, Harvard was recognized as a valiant defender of those rights. Recall that when the autocratic king of England wanted to force upon the New England Puritans the Anglican church, Governor Cranfield of New Hampshire, who was of one mind with Andros in his conspiracy against Puritan rights, wrote of Harvard as a source of the spirit of independence among the Puritan ministers. This letter was a clear recognition of the fact that the leadership of the Puritan ministers was in the direction of human freedom; and that Harvard College was a defender of the ideals of that freedom.

We see, therefore, that in this theological strife of 1805, the conservatives felt that the true Harvard tradition was one of Calvinistic orthodoxy, and that the election of a liberal as teacher of theology meant that Harvard was a renegade to the faith. On the other hand we see that the liberals felt that the true Harvard tradition was that of the defender of freedom, not orthodoxy; and that Harvard was true to her finest tradition in taking sides with the liberal party in this strife.

In this crisis, let us realize, however, that there were three parties, not merely two. There were right wing Calvinists, who were called Hopkinsians; and there were left wing liberals who were called Unitarians. But there was a large third party, holding the middle ground, deploring the strife, seeking to conserve spiritual values and to do constructive work. Up to 1805 the moderates hoped that the strife might subside and that the fellowship of New England Congregational churches might be preserved unbroken. But many of the moderates felt that Harvard would no longer send orthodox ministers into the pulpits of the churches, and so the moderates were swayed in their sympathies toward the Calvinists; and they united with them in founding Andover Theological Seminary in 1808.

As the founders of Andover felt that the terms of the endowment of the chair of theology in Harvard had been violated, they were determined that there should be no possible misunderstanding, in future time, of the conditions on which the professors in Andover occupied their chairs. Calvinism was stated in a form sharply clear; and no door was left open by which any Andover professor could move toward liberalism. The founders intended that Calvinism, in the form in which they then held it, should be perpetuated unchanged to all future generations. Every five years every professor must reaffirm his adherence to the statement of faith thus formulated. This five-year limit was fixed so that if any professor's theology were becoming liberalized he would be confronted by these established standards before he went far enough to be dangerous.

Believing that they could thus regulate their seminary, and guarantee its perpetual orthodoxy, the founders of Andover showed that they did not anticipate the work of the Spirit of the Age. How horrified they would have been, and how completely they would have despaired of their enterprise, if they could have looked forward just one century, and have seen Andover moving down to Cambridge to affiliate with the Harvard Divinity School! Feeling certain, as they did, of the finality of their view of truth, how bewildered they would have been if they could have foreseen that in one hundred years, the time would come when scholarly men could not be found who would accept their statement of faith, agree to their dogmatism, and qualify as professors according to "the letter of the law," as they laid down the law in that year!

With the separation of the candidates for the Congregational ministry into two groups, studying respectively at Harvard and Andover, it was evident that division into two denominations could hardly be avoided. Young men must choose their party, and they must distinguish themselves from the other party. They must choose which view of theology they would sustain. The two parties in the controversy seemed irreconcilable, and therefore the great schism came. Ministers of each party refused to exchange pulpits with ministers of the opposite party. Spiritual fellowship was broken, and denominational division came as a consequence.

That ministers who had been one in fellowship should organize into opposing groups was a painful experience. That Congregational churches sharing one great inheritance from the Puritans should become rival sects was distressing. But deeper tragedy was involved in the controversy, for the splitting of individual churches and bitter strife over names, records, and property marked the course of the great schism.

To understand the essentials of this tragedy, we need to recall the two theories, of three centuries ago, of what a church of Christ should be. In England, every parish had its well defined geographical boundaries. The theory of the established Church of England was that the minister of a parish was responsible for the spiritual care of every soul within the geographical limits of his parish. The Separatists, from whom came the Plymouth Pilgrims, believed that a local church should gather into its membership only the believers in Christ, who showed evidence of being born anew.

New England Puritans blended the two ideas. The first towns of Massachusetts had, each one, its church. The minister watched over the whole population as his flock; but he admitted to full membership in his church only those who were believed to be God's elect. As we have seen, this meant, in the course of years, that a large element in the population, upright and earnest in life, but lacking a vivid religious experience, was outside of church membership. The plan of the "Half-Way Covenant" offered a semi-membership to these people; but liberal men, such as Solomon Stoddard of Northampton, offered to such people full membership, on the principle that the Congregational church in Massachusetts was really the established church, and that all people must support a church. A great many people who were not members of a church were taxed for the support of the church in the town where they lived, even though they had no voice in its government. This was according to the laws of Massachusetts. In time, instead of two classes of membership in the church, as permitted by the "Half-Way Covenant," the plan was devised of having two organizations. The result was that a great many of the old First Parishes of New England adopted the idea of dual organizations: the parish and the church. The latter cared for the sacraments, though the former owned the property.

The deep tragedy of the schism of a century and more ago was that in many old Puritan towns, where there had been only one parish and, within it, one church, the line of cleavage ran between the two organizations. In bitterness, people who had worshipped together parted company. Members of families were alienated from each other. Sometimes an old minister, after a long and happy pastorate as the spiritual shepherd of all the people of a town, died of a broken heart. The members of the church, rather than those of the parish, were often the more ardently evangelical; but on departing from the fellowship of the parish, the members of the church lost their rights in the property; for the courts ruled that the land, the meetinghouse, the name, and the records belonged to the parish. The decision might be logical, but it caused hundreds of the earnest members of Massachusetts churches to lose their places of worship. The decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, made in the test case of the parish and the church of Dedham, reads: "When the majority of a Congregational church shall separate from the majority of the parish, the members who remain, although a minority, constitute the church in such parish, and retain the rights and property belonging thereto." Thus a church which detached itself from a parish lost its property rights. About four thousand people who were members of eighty Congregational churches, and who held orthodox views, went out from their parishes in the schism and lost their rights in their church property.

Even with their great earnestness, it was a long task to house themselves anew in suitable church buildings. The construction of the Park Street Church in Boston is a notable monument of this work. It has one of the finest "Wren" towers to be found on any New England meetinghouse, and is a model of that noble and austere type of church architecture which the Puritans developed from Greek architecture.

CHAPTER XVIII

A FAITH THAT MAKES FREE

IN the story of the division of the Puritan churches of New England into two denominations, we need to recall that the life of those churches had been influenced, about a century earlier, by a striking event in a church which had no connection with the Puritan tradition. As we have seen, King's Chapel in Boston was built in order to bring the Anglican worship into New England; and many churches of that fellowship were established soon after. About a century after the founding of King's Chapel, its congregation did a very striking thing. Up to the time of the Revolutionary War, the minister and the majority of the congregation were royalists. But when the war broke out, and the royalists fled to Canada, a part of the congregation, sympathetic with the American patriots, remained. They sympathized too, with the view of the Puritan liberals, that the doctrine of the Trinity was enforced by a *dogmatic* spirit; and they associated religious dogmatism with political absolutism. They were opposed to these two forms of oppression of the human mind.

Therefore, when the Revolutionary War was over, the congregation of King's Chapel did a very striking thing: it revised the Anglican ritual, purging it of the expressions of belief in the doctrine of the Trinity. In England, before the great Puritan migration, the Puritans wanted to revise the ritual of the established Church of England, and to curb the power of the Anglican bishops. Had they produced a revised Book of Common Prayer, according to their heart's desire, the revisions would not have been the same as those made in Boston, by King's Chapel, after the American Revolution; but the *principle* was strikingly similar. Here in Boston was a church of the Anglican fellowship doing the kind of thing the Puritans had urged so long. This church had called as its minister a young man, James Freeman, who had rendered distinguished service to the colonial army in the Revolutionary War and who had suffered as a prisoner of war. He was brilliant, spiritual, and scholarly. They wanted to have him ordained by an Anglican bishop, but found none who would consent to perform the act of ordination for them. Therefore they proceeded much as had the Puritan church in Salem in 1629, and as many Puritan churches had done since: they ordained James Freeman as their minister by the laying on of hands, but by the hands of laymen. The church proceeded on *no authority but its own*, and the senior deacon represented the membership of the church in the act of ordination. Thus in revising its ritual and in this innovation in the ordination service of James Freeman, King's Chapel actually did what Puritanism had so long advocated.

Thus King's Chapel became distinctly a Unitarian church, having eliminated trinitarianism from its ritual; and it came into sympathy with Puritanism and, in time, into actual fellowship with the liberal group of churches of the essential Puritan tradition.

Dr. James Freeman became a distinguished champion of the liberal faith. He was making a long journey, and was in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1816. Being invited to preach there, he preached a sermon stating the principles of the liberal party of New England. A large audience had assembled to hear the distinguished Boston minister; but what they heard was, to them, a startling novelty. From that beginning a liberal church was organized, and with a sufficient membership to sustain a minister. A young man, Jared Sparks, was called to the ministry of the church. Dr. Freeman had journeyed to Baltimore in 1818 to dedicate the new church building; and in 1819, eight of the leading ministers of the liberal wing of New England Congregationalism went to Baltimore for the ordination of Jared Sparks. It was a distinguished company; and the young man who was ordained became, in later years, the president of Harvard College.

The most notable man in the group, however, was Dr. William Ellery Channing who was designated as the minister to preach the sermon at that ordination service. Up to that time, though New England Calvinism had been stated with great precision, the Unitarian faith had been considered, even by many of those who held it, as somewhat vague and nebulous. It had been for some time in large measure a theology of *protest;* its proponents had declared with some definiteness that they did *not* believe the major tenets of Calvinism. But there was, as yet, nothing which could be regarded as a systematic Unitarian theology or a clear and cohesive statement of Unitarian faith.

The need of a clear, cohesive, systematic statement of the principles of liberal religion, and the meeting of that need by Dr. William Ellery Channing, gives to the ordination of Jared Sparks a tremendous significance. Channing's sermon, known ever since as the "Baltimore Sermon," made that ordination service an event of world influence. It meant much for the liberal people of New England who were forming a denomination to promote their faith; but it meant much for millions of people, of that time and of the years that have followed, who wanted to know the real heart of the Christian faith. It was a great event when, in England in 1215, the barons forced King John to sign the Magna Carta. It was a great event when, in Cambridge, England, in 1629, a group of Puritan leaders signed the "Cambridge Agreement." It was a great event when, in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the Pilgrims signed their Compact. Likewise it was a great event when, in Baltimore in 1819, Channing preached the "Baltimore Sermon." Each of these events has influenced the world, and its influence still continues. Each has carried forward the long slow process of the emancipation of humanity from ignorance, injustice, and oppression. Very justly, this epoch-making sermon has been called "The Magna Carta of Liberal Religion."

The news of the sermon went out rapidly and very widely. The sermon was printed immediately, and five editions followed through the press in as many weeks. Millions of copies have been printed in the years since 1819; so many that the sermon is said to have had a wider circulation than any other sermon in the world's history except only "The Sermon on the Mount," printed in the Gospel of Christ. Its publication has not ceased at any time since it was first printed.

In New England, the effect of Channing's sermon made it an event of the first order of importance. Within one year, one hundred and fifty churches in this area had declared their adherence to Channing's position. These churches were of the Puritan tradition, many of them having been organized during, or soon after, the great Puritan migration. Every church in Boston of the earliest years sided with Channing; indeed every Congregational church of the old Puritan town, except only the Old South Church, took this position. A majority of the old First Parish churches within thirty miles of Boston joined the newly-defined liberal party. The First Church of the Pilgrims, that in Plymouth, joined with this large group of Puritan First Parish churches. Of course King's Chapel, the first Anglican church in Boston, of which Dr. James Freeman was minister, came into this liberal fellowship. It adds greatly to the significance of this flowering of faith that the first Presbyterian church of Boston came into the same fellowship as the first Anglican church, the first Pilgrim church, and the first Puritan churches. This Presbyterian church was the one of which Channing himself was then minister, though it had previously taken the step of coming into the Congregational fellowship.

The story of that church and of Channing's progress in liberal faith, is of great interest. Let us look back to earlier history and then trace the course of events toward more recent times. During the sixteenth century, Calvin's theology was more widely accepted than any other among the churches of the Protestant Reformation. It became the essential theology of the Puritans of England during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It was the theology, in modified form, of the Puritans of New England. But it became a very dynamic theology in Scotland, under the leadership of John Knox, whose influence really transformed that country. It was, in Scotland, not only a theology for the churches but a faith for those who fought for political freedom and promoted the welfare of the people through education. It extended its influence to the Protestant parts of Ireland, and it sent new streams of influence to other English-speaking countries. Thus as New England received new contributions of life, through immigration from Scotland and Ireland, there was a new phase of Calvinism which was thus imported.

A congregation of "Presbyterian strangers" was formed in Boston and these people obtained very humble quarters as a place of worship. After some years as a Presbyterian church, finding difficulty in keeping up any lines of fellowship with the large groups of Presbyterians in other countries, this congregation found fellowship, where Calvinism was still the framework of theology, in the Congregational body. In making this change, these "Presbyterian strangers" did not have to change their theology, but did change their theory of church government. They found fellowship with a large group of churches in their own town and their Commonwealth.

Connect this sketch of the development of this church with the personal story of Channing, which need be told but briefly. Channing began life as a member of a distinctly Calvinistic household. His people were devout church people, and deeply interested in religion. Channing learned the Bible as he grew up, and it was with the Calvinistic interpretation that he read it. He was of the Puritan stock and tradition. He was really a Calvinist when he began his ministry; but let us realize that for hundreds of thousands of men, who would assert truthfully that they were Calvinists, the theology of Calvin was only a framework on which they built a more personal and liberal faith.

This was true of Channing: his was a *modi-*

fied Calvinism. In the controversy which (after the year 1805 when Henry Ware began to teach theology in Harvard) was splitting New England Congregationalism, Channing had a *growing* sympathy with the liberal party. His own theological opinions were gradually clarified, until he had shaped, for himself, a strong, clear, liberal faith. With this he had an intense *fervor for humanity*. He looked at the doctrine of the sovereignty of God and asked not "Is this logically correct?" but "What effect has this on humanity?" He tested all things by the standard of human welfare. He believed greatly in human worth because his central article of faith was the Fatherhood of God. He asserted a sublime faith in human personality because he believed that man has an exalted place in the universe as the child of God. As he said, "Man is great because of his Divine Parentage."

Thus it was natural that Channing became the spokesman of the new liberal faith which reasserted the finest, highest phases of the humane faith of Erasmus. And it was natural that Channing's church, the old Federal Street Church in Boston, should join the fellowship of the liberal churches.

It is quite romantic that the new liberal fellowship should receive streams of influence from four sources which seem very unlike, Puritan, Pilgrim, Anglican, and Presbyterian. The earliest Pilgrim was like the Puritan in wanting to reform the religion of England; but he had a different program for doing it. *Programs* may divide, while *purposes* may unite; and so it was with Puritans and Pilgrims in New England. The Puritan in England was like the Anglican in wanting to maintain a national church. The Puritan pattern differed from that of the Anglican. The differences in their *patterns* for the national Church of England drove Puritans and Anglicans apart; but they did have one thing in common: namely, their purpose. And here in Boston as we have seen, the first Anglican church became a typical Puritan church and the first church really to make itself distinctly Unitarian. Again, the Presbyterian church as in Scotland derived its theology from the same source as the Puritan churches of New England. These latter churches were Congregational. But the words Presbyterian and Congregational really refer to *forms* of church *government* and not to types of *theology*. So we see that Puritans and Presbyterians might differ in the form of church government and be really one in the spirit of their faith.

These four streams, Puritan, Pilgrim, Anglican, and Presbyterian, in flowing together and making one stream of liberal faith, made important contributions to that faith. For our present purposes it is of the utmost importance to see that the people who thus came together did not, in any one of these elements, abandon their earlier faith; but they transformed it. Each of these earlier forms of faith had some measure of that liberalizing and expansive power that made it truly humane and progressive, namely, a great faith in the worth of man.

Puritanism did not really cease to be essentially Puritan when it flowered into liberal faith. The group of churches which followed the lead of Channing a century and more ago, were a flowering of the humane and progressive life that had been in Puritanism for many centuries. For churches of their time and circumstances, it was normal that the flowering should come when it did. But let us remember that all of New England Puritanism, and the churches derived from it, of the Congregational and Unitarian fellowships, came to a time of flowering in humane principles and faith. The spirit of controversy which darkened the years following our Revolution, and made the atmosphere of New England harsh, has gone entirely. If both parties had kept more of the essential breadth of the earlier Puritanism with its emphasis on human values, the course of events would have been very different. The spiritual descendants of the men who stood on the two sides of the controversy, have learned to keep "the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

CHAPTER XIX

NEW ENGLAND'S GOLDEN AGE

IN tracing through history the origin and development of great ideas, the searcher is in danger of serious error if he assumes that, in human thinking, "like always begets like," or that consistency is to be expected invariably as ideas are developed in succeeding generations of men. In the thinking of any one man there may be no consciousness of a time of sharp break with his past; and yet in the course of years, his convictions may pass through a radical transformation.

One of the most repellent ideas in any phase of Calvinistic theology was the doctrine that *God decreed*, even before the creation of the world, that certain persons should be born, live, die, and go into eternal hopeless torment. Contrast with that the humane doctrine that every human being is certain of final salvation, and of eternal happiness. The two ideas seem diametrically opposed to each other: if one is true the other cannot be. Yet these two ideas grow from the same root. That growth is of unusual interest in the development of Calvinism.

Jonathan Edwards, Jr., son of the famous leader of the "Great Awakening," was born in 1745, and became one of the leaders of the group which developed, from his father's writings, the "New England Theology." When we say that the younger Jonathan Edwards rejected the Calvinistic doctrine of limited atonement, we need to amplify the statement in order to see the full significance of it. The older Calvinism, in keeping with the belief that only a part of the human race could attain eternal salvation, taught that Christ made an atonement only for those predestined to salvation. Since atonement was so costly and so precious, why waste any of it by providing it for the long, long troop of lost souls? When a man prepares to give a feast, and draws up an exact list of his invited guests, he does not buy food for those who are not invited, and who cannot possibly be admitted to the feast. In the divine economy, Calvinism said, "God provides none of the precious resources of the atonement for those who shall not sit down with Him in His heavenly home."

The younger Jonathan Edwards so modified his own view of the atonement that he declared that it is provided abundantly for the whole human race, and that the men who fall short of salvation are lost in spite of God's abundant grace. Assert that doctrine and also the central doctrine of Calvinism, that God's sovereign will is certain of final fulfilment; and see what may logically be deduced from the union of the two. To the mind of John Murray (who died in Boston in 1815) the logical deduction was that God's sovereign will would triumph by "the final union of all human souls with God." John Murray was reared a Calvinist; and within his own mind there came this humane development of his Calvinistic convictions. He was born in England in 1741, and he came to the American colony, New Jersey, just before the American Revolution; and, preaching widely, came to New England and had a profound influence by his preaching in Boston.

Hosea Ballou was a young man, thirty years of age, when Jonathan Edwards, Jr., died in

1801, and the preaching of John Murray was creating a sensation and adding to the already vigorous controversy between the New England liberals and the leaders of the "New England Theology." William Ellery Channing was only nine years younger than Hosea Ballou, and each man influenced the other. Ballou developed the doctrine that the atonement (or at-one-ment of God and man) has the effect not of changing God but of changing man's attitude toward God. He magnified greatly the faith in God's fatherhood: that God offers to man an infinite love and an eternal mercy. Out of the work of Murray and Ballou, and of other apostles who followed in their footsteps, came the movement called Universalism. It was a valiant assertion of that chivalrous faith which had long been inherent in Puritanism: that human nature has great power and must be precious in the sight of God.

Ballou and Channing developed their thought along lines at first parallel, but at last converging, to give united emphasis to the humane faith of each other. They were agreed in exalting the humanity of Jesus, whatever effect that might have on the doctrine of the Trinity.

They shared largely in the humane movement which, in the course of years, restored the Man of Nazareth to a place of measureless influence as a real example for Christian living.

Humane views of religion have spread widely in the nation, during the past century, until they have ceased to be the distinguishing marks of any one religious fellowship. The spiritual successors of the Puritans, though divided into denominational groups, have been conspicuous for promoting this humane influence. Recall that the Old South Church was the only Congregational church in Boston which did not follow Channing in forming the fellowship of liberal churches; and recall that one of the most distinguished men in its long succession of eminent ministers was George A. Gordon. A characteristic utterance of Gordon is this, "If God shall succeed, universal salvation will be the final result." This doctrine links him with John Murray and Hosea Ballou.

Gordon was born and reared among Scotch Calvinists, but found his life-work among New England Congregationalists. In becoming minister of the Old South Church in Boston, he came into the tradition of the church which had been organized in support of the humane principle of the "Half-Way Covenant." Yet the stern Calvinism of his Scottish home, the modified Calvinism of New England Congregationalism into which he migrated, and the affirmative liberal faith into which he grew, were not separated by wide chasms. In the sentence quoted from him, the use of the phrase, "If God shall succeed" is the equivalent of saying, "If the sovereign will of God shall accomplish its purposes." The central doctrine of Calvinism is there, but linked with a great humane faith in God's eternal mercy, in His infinite compassion, in His atoning love which is sufficient for all the human race.

We have traced the surprising influence which, before the war of the American Revolution, the Methodist revival in England had upon the Congregational churches of New England. In sending George Whitefield here, it was one of the primary causes of the schism in these New England churches.

The Methodist revival had, however, quite the opposite effect in later years. The coming to New England of Francis Asbury, the apostle on horseback, marks the beginning of a new epoch in the religious life of New England. It is dramatic that the Puritan and the Methodist influences should meet as they did in Boston. The Puritans represented the party which had beheaded Archbishop Laud; but the Methodists owed to that prelate their Arminian faith which he imported into England from Holland, and which he grafted into the life of the High Church party in England. Yet Methodism, on coming to Boston more than a century ago, found the Arminian faith in the liberal party of the Congregational churches, and found also the evangelistic spirit in the conservative party. There is a well-founded tradition among Massachusetts Methodists that they recognized in Channing a prophet akin to Wesley in spirit; and that when Channing's works were published, they found a place among the few most prized books of every Methodist preacher of the time in and about Boston. Channing's emphasis on the value of man, and his ardent advocacy of reforms for human good, were akin to the animating spirit of Wesley's work, even though the two men differed so widely in their circumstances and in the methods by which they did their work. Channing's major utterance, the

" Baltimore Sermon," was essentially a reassertion of the doctrine which gave a glory to the early morning of the Reformation, that of the right of private judgment. Channing urged, as had great prophets in by-gone centuries, that men should read the Bible and interpret it for themselves. He believed ardently in the power of the human mind.

Channing was moved by a great *fervor for humanity.* That was the key-note of all his utterance, and the impulse of all his reforming work. Like a contagion it spread far and wide, until it was dominating many of the preachers, poèts, educators, and reformers of that age. Such doctrines as the total depravity of man, and the predestination of men to eternal punishment could not hold the place they once had in Christian theology. Gigantic evils, which were strongly intrenched in the social order, were attacked by valiant reformers. In the course of time the "New England conscience" made it impossible that human slavery should continue in the American Republic. New idealists among the educators, believing ardently in that typically Puritan institution, the public school, raised the standard of education, and gave a mightier power to the Massachusetts school system. This educational movement influenced profoundly every commonwealth in the American Republic.

The intense fervor for humanity, which was characteristic of this golden age in New England, had changed the whole outlook of human life by bringing to flower a faith inherent in Puritanism. Through many centuries, and in many forms, religion taught that human nature was essentially evil and the human mind perverse. Much of this is to be attributed to St. Augustine whose conversion was magnified by the fact that his life before that event was very dissolute and his life after very saintly. To this day there are evangelists who seek to magnify the importance of their work by assessing human nature at as low a value as possible in order that the results of conversion may seem to be as great as possible.

In spite of the Calvinistic doctrine of the total depravity of human nature, the Puritan built his whole plan of New England life on a foundation of faith in human power. Whatever his theological inconsistencies, these Puritans declared man to be capable of self-government, and able to enter into direct personal communion with God; and they organized their church and state accordingly. They believed in the capacity of man for progress, and, consistently, they believed in schools and colleges and the publishing of books as means of culture. This faith in man made the Puritan life creative.

Channing and the men of his era, of various religious communions, emphasizing as they did their fervor for humanity, were worthy successors of the early Puritans. The root planted by the pioneers was of slow growth; but its flowering was beautiful. The early decades of the past century revealed how fair that flowering could be, and how full of promise. It was the more lovely and promising that it was not shut within any thorny hedge of sectarian boundaries.

The emphasis which men of the liberal forms of faith, a century ago, put upon the Puritan doctrine of the worth of man, had a wealth of results. As has been said in the foregoing pages, that emphasis led to new educational plans and purposes. In any country where men really believe that human nature is evil, and the human mind perverse, it is logical that all educational methods be directed toward forcing the mind out of its natural channels. If a teacher discovers a natural bent in a pupil's mind and believes it to be perverse, he will logically do violence to that inclination. A century ago there was an educational movement which exactly reversed this theory of thwarting a pupil's inclination. Teachers studied their pupils sympathetically to discover their natural inclinations, not that they might be corrected or thwarted, but that they might be strengthened and cultivated. A fervor for humanity manifested itself in this educational revolution, as it did in many other humane movements. Though by no means overlooking the easily visible defects in human nature, religion had entered on a new era in which it declared its faith in a humane God and in the divine possibilities of human nature. The new religious faith showed its dynamic power in giving the necessary impulses to many movements for human betterment.

If the movement which put a new emphasis on humanity, a century ago, had been promoted only by logical and educational methods and by legislative reforms, its progress might have been slow. But the fact that a great group of singers made their voices heard contributed mightily to that progress. The famous group of New England poets, including Henry W. Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant, James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and John Greenleaf Whittier, put the humane faith into immortal verse. If human minds might be moved but slowly by the logic of the new faith, human hearts responded quickly and gladly to the words of the poets.

Music, too, was linked with poetry in bringing the new religious faith to human spirits. From the time of the Genevan Psalter, four centuries ago, when the Hebrew psalms were put into verse and set to noble music, the Protestant faith had used hymn singing as a great means of spiritual culture. John Milton, famous as the author of *Paradise Lost*, had an enormous influence among his fellow Puritans by his metrical versions of some of the Psalms which were set to music. But a century ago, in New England, the humane faith was the impulse for one of the greatest movements for hymn writing that the world has ever known.

A concrete example of the influence of a poet in changing the theology of a great many people may be cited: Whittier's poem "The

Eternal Goodness" will serve admirably as such an example. When John Murray and Hosea Ballou sought by logic to prove that God's mercy extended to all men, and that His saving love must finally be triumphant in bringing all men to Himself, there were Calvinists who matched logic with logic and who set argument sharply against argument. The younger Jonathan Edwards was one of these. The doctrine of eternal punishment was strongly intrenched in theology and well fortified by prejudices.

Then came Whittier, singing of God's everlasting mercy, and many people received the humane faith in spite of their prejudices. It is easy to read and enjoy the poem without realizing that Whittier has put into "The Eternal Goodness" a dramatic narrative. He was a liberal Quaker, but had to contend for his right to his humane views; for among his spiritual associates were people who held a rigid theology like Calvinism. The poem is addressed to them; and the mind of the poet is in contact with their minds. Like the greatest of the poems of Robert Browning, it is a dramatic monologue.

As we read the poem, with this understanding of it, we feel the tenseness of the situation.

Whittier has been confronted by the sharp demand that he subscribe to an "iron creed," but he will not allow his lips to utter the harsh doctrines which his kindly heart refuses to accept. His opponents assume the dogmatic attitude and demand his acceptance of what theologians call the "plan of salvation," and they set forth the threat that God will punish in hell the people who refuse to accept it.

This is made clear in the first half of the poem, after which Whittier sets forth, in lines of immortal beauty, his faith in God's eternal goodness. The poem begins:

> "O Friends! with whom my feet have trod
> The quiet aisles of prayer,
> Glad witness to your zeal for God
> And love of man I bear . . .
>
> But still my human hands are weak
> To hold your iron creeds:
> Against the words ye bid me speak
> My heart within me pleads."

Whittier believes that the heart of God Himself is revealed in the words of Christ in the "Sermon on the Mount": "Blessed are the merciful for they shall obtain mercy," and in Christ's prayer for his enemies who had nailed him to the cross, "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do." But the men whom the poet is addressing hold harsh views of God such as those of Calvinism. Whittier says:

"Ye see the curse which overbroods
  A world of pain and loss;
I hear the Lord's beatitudes
  And prayer upon the cross . . .

The wrong that pains my soul below
  I dare not throne above:
I know not of His hate. I know
  His goodness and His love."

Whittier regards his antagonists as professing to know the future more certainly than any man can possibly know it. For himself he is willing to trust absolutely the eternal mercy and to acknowledge that many things are mysteries. He rebukes gently the dogmatism of his antagonists and urges upon them the grace of humility. Few verses of his poetry have moved as many hearts as these:

"I know not what the future hath
  Of marvel or surprise
Assured alone that life and death
  His mercy underlies . . .

I know not where His islands lift
  Their fronded palms in air;
I only know I cannot drift
  Beyond His love and care."

The ground of Whittier's convictions was his own spiritual judgment, and he appeals to no external authority.

It is worth while to give extended study to the dramatic narrative within this poem, for it is much more than the experience of a single individual. In reality Whittier expresses the whole great humane spirit of the liberal movement, in New England, in the past century. It is as if all the poets sang with him in his song; as if all the prophets joined in the utterance of what his heart utters; as if all the educators and reformers were impelled by his tender sympathy for humanity. And in his trust in the eternal goodness, "the thoughts of many hearts are revealed." His protest against a harsh theology, his resistance of a dogmatic spirit, and his refusal to be bound by a fixed creed are not merely his own: his voice is the voice of millions of people. If we rightly interpret what Whittier wrote in this poem, and if we personify the spirit that thus expresses itself, we have gained the point of view from which we can see, in true perspective, the men and events in the religion of New England during the past century. Truly in that era, and through the labors of its prophets, the faith of the Puritans came to its time of flowering.

The question has come to many minds, Why did not the liberal movement, led by William Ellery Channing a century ago, become a very numerous denomination, adopt an aggressive sectarian policy, and seek a dominant place among the churchly sects of American life? It has had adverse critics who have argued that the movement, humane as they concede it to have been, was really sterile. It has had friendly critics who have said that it was so humane that it could not become actively sectarian: that its best results must be sought in its influence in making all movements of American life more humane. Whether Channing and his associates are to be blamed or praised for their attitude of mind, the historical fact is that they were averse to developing a strongly denominational life, and really preferred to use their great resources for humane causes rather than sectarian purposes.

In a history of the Congregational movement, Leonard Woolsey Bacon sums up those resources of the party, which had Channing as its chief prophet, in a brief passage:

"Never in all the course of church history has a new religious movement started with so magnificent a send-off as this of the Boston Unitarians. Granting the strength of its theological position, no element of strength beside seemed lacking to it. It numbered one hundred and twenty-five churches, by far the greater part of which were in the region of Boston. Nine out of the ten churches of Boston adhered to it. Of the twenty-five first churches, founded in Massachusetts, about twenty, beginning with the Pilgrim church of Plymouth, were Unitarian. The venerable College at Cambridge was under its control. Church buildings and productive funds for religious uses amounting, it was estimated, to $600,000 were in its possession.

"The wealth, culture, and social influence of Boston were Unitarian. The great offices of the State were held by Unitarians. The Unitarian clergy-list was such a roster of splendid names as no clergy of like numbers in Christendom could show. Neither were its graces those alone of learning and rhetoric, although in these it was greatly distinguished; the more spiritual graces of charity towards man and piety towards God were, in many a beautiful instance, illustrated in saintly lives. There was much to justify the prophecy that was uttered, that Unitarianism would presently become the prevailing form of American Christianity.

"The theology represented by Channing and his friends was a lofty and reverent Arianism. Its methods were scrupulously biblical. . . . The Unitarians were charged with having departed from the doctrine of the Fathers of New England. It was true. So, in a less degree and by more gradual deflections, had their accusers. But to claim that they had ceased to be Congregationalists was (and is) preposterous."

The evangelistic movement in New England was essentially humane. Whatever the emphasis it put on the Calvinistic doctrines of human depravity, its appeal was to the human will; and, directly or indirectly, it emphasized the ability of man to enter into vital relations with the living God. The liberal movement was, by its methods, in contrast with the other; but the liberals also emphasized the worth of man by their renewal of the doctrine of the right of private judgment of Scripture and by their great diligence in all kinds of humane endeavors. Both movements enriched the religious life of New England; and, happily, the time came when the people of each party could appreciate the good in the other.

CHAPTER XX

PROPHETS OF MODERN FAITH

IF a historian could record with perfect clarity the progress of humanity toward a really humane religion, it would be because he could trace the subtle influences which great prophets have had upon the minds of their successors. Through long centuries a succession of heroic thinkers have carried forward the light of their hopes, though they could not see the fulfilment of those hopes.

These men remind us of the picturesque custom, among the Greeks of antiquity, of holding torch-races, in connection with great festivals. A moonless night was chosen, that the illumination from the torches might be more impressive. The contestants must run swiftly, but must reach the goal with their torches still burning.

This latter thought was made more emphatic by the men who arranged to run a relay race. It might be in honor of a fire-god, Vulcan or Prometheus. One runner would light his torch from the sacred flame on the altar of the god whom he wished to honor. Then he would run "the race that was set before him"; and then pass his flaming torch to a waiting runner who would carry it forward eagerly till he, too, had finished his course and passed it to still other hands. Thus through the deep darkness of the moonless night the sacred illumination was transmitted from runner to runner till the goal was reached. It is the simile of the Grecian torch-race that is used by a modern heroic poet in the familiar lines:

> "To you from failing hands
> We throw the torch.
> Be yours to hold it high."

Not at the altar of a false god, but at the undying flame kindled by the eternal Father, the prophets of far-off centuries lighted a torch of faith. They perceived the truth of the worth of human life, and lifted that lighted torch not only that they might themselves press forward toward life's goal but might lead humanity. Then was it true that "the people that walked in darkness have seen a great light." The torch of faith in human worth was carried forward by a succession of prophets through mediæval times. At last there came the morning of the Revival of Learning, when very suddenly men made the endeavor to test all things by human values. Whatever else marked the beginning of our modern era, that emphasis on human worth was its most important characteristic. All other things that had meaning gained added significance from their relationship to that doctrine of the importance of man.

In reviewing many centuries of human progress, there is one thought that should be greatly emphasized and that adds to the significance of the leadership of this progress: the amazing capacity of these prophets to see, by spiritual insight, what ought to be done for humanity; and their magnificent courage in proclaiming the vision before there were any implements with which to do the colossal tasks of the fulfilment of the vision. What matchless audacity they showed!

Long before the beginning of the Christian era, a prophet declared his vision of a warless world in which the weapons of war should be made into the implements for the cultivation of the earth. The energy wasted in destructive warfare is to be turned toward the conquest of the earth for man. "They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks."

A prophet of that early time saw the vision of a population in which general enlightenment brought supreme knowledge to every mind. Of that ideal civilization he said: "They shall teach no more every man his neighbor and every man his brother, saying 'Know the Lord;' for they shall all know me." Long before there were any implements of general education, to make possible this condition of enlightenment, the making of this prediction shows a profound insight into human capacity for mental and spiritual development. Only in the far future could this insight find justification and this prophecy be fulfilled.

Jesus of Nazareth looked out on a world weighted down with oppressive and inhuman institutions. Governments aimed not at the good of the people but at exploiting them. Established religions claimed heavy tribute from men. Ignorance, disease, war, and sin were destructive of human life. Yet Jesus asserted his faith in the worth of the whole human race. He trained a little group of young men as the messengers of his faith. To them he said: "Ye are the salt of the earth" and again: "Ye are the light of the world."

The time came when Catholic orthodoxy nearly deprived the world of this humane faith of Jesus of Nazareth; but the movements which Catholicism persecuted as heretical really saved the situation for the essentials of the Christian gospel. The history of the religion of Jesus, during those centuries, is not merely the history of the outward display of power by emperors and popes and dominant organizations. The vital story traces rather the succession of men who, as martyrs, saints, and prophets, have upheld the faith in humanity which, in the mind of the Master, was supreme. He exalted men as the sons of the living God and judged all things by their effects on human welfare. In the Protestant reformation, and the Revival of Learning, the essential faith of Jesus Christ entered on a new and promising era.

This brief review of the progress of the heroic faith in the worth of humanity, sketches a background for the figure of the Puritan of recent centuries. While movements other than Puritanism have promoted human welfare, the Puritan was essentially a prophet of this vital faith in human values. Whatever ventures he made, that faith was his guide. Whatever institutions he erected, he judged them by their effect on human life. The figure of the Puritan should emerge from the mists of prejudice with which his critics have shrouded him. It cannot now be said too emphatically, nor is there any danger that it will be said too often, that the Puritan of three centuries ago was the real humanitarian of the age, the progressive in politics, the broad-churchman in religion, and the prophet of the modern liberal faith. In our survey of history we have sought to penetrate beneath the local and the temporal and find the vital things. We have been careful not to be misled by names and parties. But, subordinating non-essentials and emphasizing essentials, we find that the past century, in New England life, has seen a fulfilment of Puritan idealism.

In far-off centuries there were prophets who declared their faith in general education, even before there were schools to justify that faith;

and who proclaimed the necessity for universal culture before printing was invented. With the same prophetic insight into the possibilities of future civilization and enlightenment, the Puritan pioneers in New England established principles of enduring worth even when their implements for promoting culture were rudimentary. They combined education, religion, and government with a notable sense of proportion. Their institutions were changed, but their ideals have proved themselves to be dynamic and creative.

One of the impressive institutions of Puritan life, which has grown to vast influence, is Harvard College, now expanded into a great university. Charles W. Eliot, whose long term of service in the presidency of Harvard has left upon the institution the abiding marks of his own personality, has been described by two phrases: "The last and the greatest of the New England Puritans" and also "One of the greatest of the emancipators of the human spirit." Both phrases are justified; and, by linking them together in characterizing a single great personality, we are led to another truth. That is, that whoever brings Puritanism to a climax must be an emancipator of the human spirit.

Anyone misjudges Puritanism who looks only at the broken patterns of its outward life. Those only appreciate its reality who see its dynamic spirit; for Puritanism has brought the best fulfilment of the promise which was made by the Renaissance, in the dawning century of modern life.

Just as Puritanism, when it reached its climax in New England life, made the great assertion of the worth of personality, as against the rigidity of Calvinism, so in these present years we need that assertion. There is a tendency toward belittling the worth of man because of recent scientific doctrines. The thinking of the scholarly world passed through a great transition during the nineteenth century. As great as the transition from scholasticism to the Renaissance was the change brought about by the modern doctrines of exact science, summed up in the conception of "the reign of law" in the whole universe.

Man seems to have exchanged the dogmatism of the Calvinistic theologians for the dogmatism of a group of materialistic scientists; and to have escaped from the doctrine of predestination, which taught that man's fate is fixed by the arbitrary decrees of the sovereign Will, only to be caught in the doctrine of determinism, which declares that our life is inexorably shaped by immutable laws, inherent in the physical universe.

We need greatly the emancipating doctrine of the eternal worth of human personality: the doctrine, of which Channing was a valiant prophet, that human personality has a transcendent meaning because men are the sons of God. Channing said:

> "I am accustomed to speak of the greatness of human nature; but it is great only through its parentage; great because descended from God, because connected with a goodness and power from which it is to be enriched forever. Without God our existence has no support, our life no aim, our improvements no permanence, our best labors no sure and enduring results, and our noblest aspirations and desires no pledge of being realized."

He continues:

> "Among the virtues, we give the first place to the love of God. We believe that this principle is the true end and happiness of our being, that we are made for union with our Creator,

that His infinite perfection is the only sufficient object and true resting-place for the insatiable desires and unlimited capacities of the human mind, and that without Him our noblest sentiments — admiration, veneration, hope, and love — would wither and decay. We believe, too, that the love of God is not only essential to happiness, but to the strength and perfection of all the virtues; that conscience, without the sanction of God's authority and retributive justice, would be a weak director; that benevolence, unless nourished by communion with His goodness, and encouraged by His smile, could not thrive against the selfishness and thanklessness of the world; and that self-government, without a sense of the Divine inspection, would hardly extend beyond an outward and partial purity. God, as He is essentially goodness, holiness, justice and virtue, so He is the life, motive and sustainer of virtue in the human soul."

This doctrine of the worth of human personality, uttered a century ago, is really timeless. Man has, for all time, his relationship with his world. Science seeks to tell us the process of man's evolution, and to measure the dimensions of the place he occupies in the scheme of things. If an intelligent observer were to look at the universe from a point of view outside of human personality, he would not predict, from cosmic processes, such a world as ours; nor the coming of human personality from the process of the evolution of life. But we look at the world from *within* human personality; and that is the only point of view permitted to the human observer and interpreter. Whatever the nature of the universe, *here we are*, the human race, with that dynamic reality, *our human personality*. The way to a happy, useful, and significant life is indicated by the faith which Channing so valiantly declared. We have reason to be grateful for the prophets of this modern faith; and on their heirs rests the obligation of fulfilling their vision. Receiving a great inheritance, transmitted through the faith of the Puritans, the men of the passing years may bring that faith to even fairer flowering.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

WHOEVER would make a thorough study of Puritanism and of its origins and results, and would endeavor to appraise that great movement at its real worth, is confronted at the very outset with many difficulties. One of these is that so much of what has been written about Puritanism expresses a spirit of partisanship and of controversy. In England, Puritanism led to civil war; and in America it was one of the contributing causes of the Revolutionary War. Some historians reveal bitter prejudices against the Puritans, and are unable to write of them with unbiased judgment. Yet somewhere, in the many thousands of volumes, that have been written on the history of the period in which Puritanism was most potent, the truth has been expressed. The careful student needs to carry his studies to original sources, and then to make allowance for prejudices, in the minds of some historians, as he surveys the vast accumulation of books in this field. It is well to read the works of men who take opposite points of view; but the careful student will be watchful that his own judgment be not warped. To understand Puritanism it is imperative to read very widely and to understand the whole historical situation which gave rise to our modern life.

Many people think of the Puritan migration to New England as a sudden movement; and the Puritans who migrated are spoken of as "exiles," as if they had fled abruptly, in terror, from their mother country. In reality that migration expressed an expanding life which had so much power that it was able to face the conditions in

England which led to civil strife and was able at the same time to plant a group of self-governing colonies in the New World. The driving force of Puritanism was religious; and that force had been growing through a thousand years before the word Puritan was first used. This is why, in writing this present book, I have gone to the early years of Christian history, and have traced this growing movement through mediæval times, down to its vital results in modern liberal religion.

My interest in the reading of history began very early in life. Even before I could really understand a work so ponderous, I liked to read Henry Hallam's *View of the State of Europe During the Middle Ages.* Having been named for the author, my curiosity was stirred and I wanted to know what that famous historian had written. In later years I found added interest in George P. Fisher's *History of the Christian Church.* In recent years, as I have taken up an extensive study of the background of Puritanism, it has been like visiting again the fields familiar in earlier life, and it has yielded great delight.

Under the title, *History of the Christian Church*, Philip Schaff has written four volumes, and the student is referred also to the works of John Fletcher Hurst and Henry C. Sheldon. Other important works are: *A Source Book for Ancient Church History* by Joseph C. Ayer; *An Introduction to the History of Christianity* by F. J. Foakes Jackson (covering the period A.D. 590–1314); *The Rise of the Mediæval Church* by Alexander Clarence Flick; *The Church in History* by Arthur Wilford Nagler; *The History of Christianity in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, a collective work; and *Christianity in History, A Study of Religious Development*, by J. Vernon Bartlet and A. J. Carlyle.

The period of the termination of the mediæval era and the beginning of the modern era is of special interest as forming the more immediate background of Puritanism. See the work *Five Centuries of Religion*, Vol. I, 1000–1200 A.D., Vol. II, 1200–1400 A.D.; *The Age of Schism, Being an Outline of the History of the Church*, 1304–1503 A.D. by Herbert Bruce; and, in the series, *Ten Epochs of Church History, The Age of the Renaissance* by Paul VanDyke and *The Reformation* by Williston Walker. See also *The Renaissance* (*The Protestant Revolution and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe*) by Edward Maslin Hulme; and the four volumes of *Luther and the Reformation* by James Mackinnon. There are many other valuable works on the same period.

The development of Puritanism in England should be traced by going back to the century of Magna Carta and then studying the work of Wyclif; and continuing the study through the following centuries. General histories of England should be read, and then books on various phases of the progressive movement which gained the name of Puritanism. Of the histories of England one of the best, for historical accuracy and for wise interpretation, is Green's (4 volumes). Others are by Guizot (4 volumes), Hume (6 volumes), Macaulay (5 volumes), etc. An excellent single volume recently published is by Trevelyan of Cambridge University. A thorough knowledge of the whole course of English history since 1215 A.D. is needed if the student is to appreciate Puritanism.

The following books deal with phases of this movement: *Lollardy and the Reformation in England, A Historical Survey* (4 volumes) by James Gairdner; *Wycliffe and Movements for Reform* by Reginald L. Poole; *The Early English Dissenters in the Light of Recent Research*, 1550–1641, by Champlin Burrage; *History of English Nonconformity*, Vol. I. *From Wyclif to the Restoration*, Vol. II. *From the Restoration to the Close of the Nineteenth Century*, by Henry W. Clark; *The English Refor-*

mation and Puritanism by Eri B. Hulbert. Scotland and England influenced each other greatly, and the student is referred to *The History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland* by John Knox, with which are included *Knox's Confession* and *The Book of Discipline.* This classic has been revised and edited by Cuthbert Lennox. Valuable interpretation will be found in *The American People* by A. Maurice Low; *The Influence of Puritanism* by John Stephen Flynn; *The Puritan as a Colonist and Reformer* by Ezra H. Byington; and *The Puritans and their Principles* by Edwin Hall. There are many other volumes which might be cited.

Coming to the Separatist movement of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and its outcome in the Pilgrim migration; and to the political and religious activities of the Puritans in the Stuart era and the Puritan migration, there is a wealth of literature. Priceless, as original sources, are *The Bradford History* by Governor Bradford of Plymouth and *History of New England* by Governor John Winthrop of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. With the former, read *The Pilgrim Republic* by John A. Goodwin; and, with the latter, read *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* by Robert C. Winthrop.

Anyone who wishes to study the English background of the Pilgrim and Puritan migrations, however widely, will find an abundance of material, of great variety. The American phases of Separatism and of Puritanism cannot be fully understood apart from the movements in England leading to the principles of Independency and of Nonconformity. A vivid and interesting story is contained in three volumes by Samuel Hopkins, on *The Puritans, or the Church, Court, and Parliament During the Reigns of Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth.* Two volumes by John Hunt on *Religious Thought in England from the Reformation to 1800* are illuminating. And in *The Puritans and their Principles* Edwin Hall reviews

Puritan history beginning with Wyclif. He defends especially the Puritan and Pilgrim form of church government, contrasting it with "prelacy."

The political history of Boston and of Massachusetts is quite inseparable from the story of New England Puritanism. Among the many works which might be cited, as of great value, the following are given emphasis as dealing with fundamental conditions and developments of this life: *Topographical and Historical Description of Boston* by Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, which contains much valuable material; *The History and Antiquities of Boston*, 1630–1770 by Samuel G. Drake assembles in one ponderous volume much material from original sources; *The Memorial History of Boston*, 1630–1880 was edited by Justin Winsor, librarian of Harvard University. In its four large volumes are assembled articles by many writers and the work is richly illustrated. While such a work is necessarily uneven in style and quality, it is of a high order of excellence. *History of Massachusetts* 1620–1820 by Alden Bradford; *History of Boston* 1630–1830 by Josiah Quincy; and *History of Massachusetts* (in three volumes) by John Stetson Barry are valuable works, long considered standard. Especially illuminating are *The History of New England* (in five volumes) by John Gorham Palfrey, covering the time from the earliest explorations to the American Revolution; *The English in America* (five volumes) by J. A. Doyle of Oxford which includes two very valuable volumes on the Puritan Colonies; and the fascinating historical series by John Fiske, especially *The Beginnings of New England* which deals with the Puritan Theocracy in its relations with civil and religious liberty. There are more than a dozen volumes in the *Harvard Historical Studies*. These include *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies* by A. L. Cross, *The Public Life of Joseph Dudley* by Everett Kimball, and *The Provincial Governor* by E. B. Greene. Critical works are *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (in two volumes) by Charles Francis Adams and *Massachusetts, its Historians and its History* by the same author.

For a study of colonial legislation in Massachusetts, the student can go to original sources in *The Body of Liberties; The Colonial Laws;* and *The Records of the Court of Assistants.* The library of the State House in Boston, as well as those of our historical societies, contains a precious mine of original material.

In a broad survey of this historical field, the reader needs a sense of proportion because some writers of New England history lack that valuable mental quality. If a writer magnifies a chance utterance, made by a colonial governor in an angry mood, into an expression of the Puritan spirit, the wise reader will not take the writer too seriously. Or if a writer reveals so sharp a prejudice against the whole Puritan movement that he is unable to see the creative work done by it, the wise reader will turn to the works of historians more just and discriminating.

Before leaving this general survey of valuable works in the field traversed by the story in my present book, I want to cite a few books, recently published, which will be found useful in relating Puritanism to American life. *The Essential American Tradition* is compiled by J. L. Bennett and is an anthology of passages from national documents. See also *The Foundations of American Nationality* by E. B. Greene; *The Making of a Nation* by Barnes, Dexter and Walker; *The Rise of American Civilization* by Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard; and the two volumes of *Main Currents in American Thought* by V. L. Parrington.

In addition to works in this general survey, I will cite others in connection with some points in the progress of my story. In connection with my early chapters, *A History of the Christian Church* by Williston Walker, which is new and compact, will be found illuminating in addition to works already cited. He clarifies the situations of Arius and Athanasius, (see my third chapter), as well as later developments, including the "heretical" sects, (discussed in my fourth chapter). Works already cited discuss Waldo, Wyclif, and Huss (whom I group in chapter five). For "The Spirit of Mediæval Times" (page 51, etc.), one needs to read widely. *Founders of the Middle Ages* by Edward K. Rand of Harvard, is a very recent work of great value. Others have already been cited. On Chapters VII and VIII (pages 66–90), I recommend the reading of authors who take different points of view, for the situation is complicated. The works of John Addington Symonds on the Renaissance are of great value. Henry C. Sheldon discusses "Humanism" in Vol. III, Part 1, p. 7, of his *History of the Christian Church.* For an illuminating work on Erasmus see Preserved Smith's recent volume, *Erasmus, A Study of His Life, Ideals and Place in History.* He cites other works including original sources.

On John Calvin (page 107, etc.) there are many books; but I wish to cite *The Life and Times of John Calvin* (in two volumes) translated by Henry Stebbing from the German of Paul Henry. *Beacon Lights of the Reformation*, a small volume by W. H. Withrow, has brief and interesting sketches of Calvin, Luther and other reformers. If the student of books on the affirmative side of the Reformation wants to read a presentation of the opposite view, let him turn to the work of a Roman Catholic, Hilaire Belloc, *How the Reformation Happened;* and he will find a discussion of Calvin in Chapter III.

In the time of Queen Elizabeth, Calvin's influence was powerful among the Puritans of England. One should read works on the Anglican side as well as the Puritan. A work on the reforming movement before the reign of Queen Elizabeth is *Cranmer and the Reformation*

Under Edward VI by C. H. Smyth. For original material in the period 1535–1575 see *Correspondence of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury.* From an unexpected source, much that is interesting can be derived; for there are very valuable historical notes in a volume of *Old English Ballads* 1553–1625, edited by Hyder E. Rollins and published by the University Press, Cambridge, England. Sometimes songs had more influence than arguments.

Before leaving the consideration of the English phases of Puritanism, I want to cite books bearing on the same period as the first decades of New England settlement. Read *Oliver Cromwell* by Andrew Dakers, and *Cromwell* by G. R. Stirling Taylor. These are written from differing points of view. Also one may read *Archbishop Laud* by A. S. Duncan-Jones who regards as a saint and martyr the prelate whom the Puritans most hated and who was beheaded as an enemy of English liberties. Of great value is R. W. Dale's *History of English Congregationalism*, a monumental work. Interesting, delightful and illuminating are two volumes by Frederick J. Powicke, *Life of Richard Baxter* 1615–1691 and *Richard Baxter Under the Cross* 1662–1691. Drawn from original materials, they tell the story of a great Puritan and clarify an important era in the development of Puritanism. An anonymous book published in 1698 bears the title *Two Treatises of Government* and reflects the political and religious turmoil of that era. *Puritanism in England* contains six lectures delivered in Westminster Abbey by H. Hensley Henson on the 250th anniversary of the Act of Uniformity of 1662. It presents the Anglican point of view.

Quaint works from the early decades of New England life are *Remarkable Providences* by Increase Mather, and the two volumes of the *Magnalia* by Cotton Mather. In my Chapter XIII (page 134) I write of Salem and

Plymouth and their manner of settlement. I have referred already to valuable works in this field. See also *Annals of Salem from its First Settlement* by Joseph B. Felt which includes interesting original material; and *New England Congregationalism in its Origin and Purity* by Daniel Appleton White. The latter work bears the sub-title, *Foundation and Early Records of the First Church in Salem.* For books in the field traversed by my Chapters XIV, XV, and XVI, one will find a wealth of material in the records of our early churches and the stories of the Puritan leaders of that time. *History of the First Church in Boston* by Arthur B. Ellis; *Three Hundred Years of Quincy* 1625–1925 by Daniel M. Wilson, and, by the same author, *First Church of Christ, Quincy,* 1636; *History of the Second Church, or Old North, Boston,* by Chandler Robbins; *Annals of King's Chapel* by Henry Wilder Foote (whose two volumes are a veritable gold mine of information); also *Two Hundredth Anniversary of King's Chapel; History of the Old South Church, Boston,* 1669–1884, two large volumes by Hamilton Andrews Hill; also *The Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Founding of the Old South Church in Boston;* and *Harvard College, Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary,* 1636–1886. Three recent works, published by the Harvard University Press, are *Increase Mather, The Foremost American Puritan* by Kenneth B. Murdock; *Cotton Mather* by Barrett Wendell; and *The Religious History of New England* by various authors (a very valuable collection of King's Chapel Lectures).

For light on the place of the Baptists in early New England life see *Roger Williams, Prophet and Pioneer of Soul Liberty* by A. B. Strickland; *Sir Henry Vane, Jr.* by Henry Melville King; and *History of the First Baptist Church of Boston,* 1665 by Nathan E. Wood, its minister. These three books argue vigorously on behalf of the Baptists and are critical of the Puritans. In tracing the way in which Puritanism developed the Congregational system of church government, and also the New England type of Calvinism, one should read *Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* by Williston Walker, both for original material and for interpretation. See also a little volume containing *The Cambridge Platform of Church Discipline Adopted in* 1648, *The Confession of Faith Adopted in* 1680 and *A Platform of Ecclesiastical Government* (this last by Nathaneal Emmons).

A work "written directly from the original sources" is *A Genetic History of the New England Theology* by Frank H. Foster. See my Chapter XVII, (page 210, etc.). Other books are *The Law of Congregational Usage* by William E. Barton; *The Pilgrims and Their History* by Roland G. Usher; *The Genesis of the New England Churches* by Leonard G. Bacon; and *Congregational Administration* by Charles Sumner Nash. There are many other works in this field.

Two books bearing on the political activities of the New England clergy in revolutionary times are, *The Chaplains and Clergy of the Revolution* by J. T. Headley and *The New England Clergy and the American Revolution* by Alice M. Baldwin, the latter a recent work of great interest.

The congregational form of church government is found in several different denominations, and in England as well as America. Many works illuminate the various lines of its development as well as the story of Congregationalism as a distinct denomination. In conclusion I refer to these valuable works: *Evolution of English Congregationalism* by Alexander Mackennal; *The Pilgrim in Old England* by Amory H. Bradford; and *Congregationalists in America*, a popular history of the whole movement by Albert E. Dunning. These are conspicuously good.

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